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SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B. C. C.

January 27-February 3, 1975

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

The enemy is rotting every day, while we are getting better and better every day.

Ours is a just cause. A just cause is invulnerable to any enemy.

The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome.

Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so.

The proletariat must exercise overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including various spheres of culture.

* * *

New Year Message

- 1975 New Year's Day Editorial by Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1975)

Nineteen seventy-four, a year of united struggle, has ended and the people of all nationalities in our country are striding into 1975 in high spirits.

In the past year, we have successfully carried out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a movement personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao. Hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have further exposed the crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and, in the light of actual conditions, criticized Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which preach restoration, regression and national betrayal, and have thus heightened their consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist revolution in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, is forging ahead. Mass contingents of Marxist theoretical workers are growing quite rapidly, and in many organizations there is a much greater keenness in the study of theory, history and current conditions as advocated by Chairman Mao. The revolution in education, in literature and art and in medical and health work is constantly deepening. We enjoy thriving socialist innovations. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has consolidated and enhanced the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The entire Party, the entire army and the people of all nationalities in China are still more united. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is more consolidated than ever.

Revolution has pushed production forward. In agriculture, an all-round rich harvest has been won on top of the consecutive rich harvests of the previous 12 years. The total value of industrial and agricultural output shows a fresh increase over 1973. New successes have been achieved in industry, capital construction and science and technology. In our country the market is brisk, prices remain stable and production and construction are thriving. All this is in striking contrast with the decline in production, growing unemployment and inflation in the capitalist world which is facing a profound economic crisis, and demonstrates the immense superiority of the socialist system.

The victories on all fronts in the past year, and particularly the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, have enabled people to see more profoundly, in the light of current and historical class struggles, the importance of upholding the Party's basic line. To combat and prevent revisionism is a long and arduous struggle, and under no circumstances should we relax our fighting will. Chairman Mao pointed out once again in January 1965: "Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so." We have conscientiously followed this teaching

of Chairman Mao's in the last ten years. We should continue to bear it in mind in the present excellent situation.

In the new year, we should adhere to the Party's basic line, broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, achieve still greater success in the revolution in all spheres of the superstructure, consolidate the socialist economic base, achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing economic construction and national defense construction, strengthen Party leadership, stick to the mass line and unite the people of all nationalities in our country in a dauntless struggle for the great cause of socialism.

It is necessary to continue to grasp firmly the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. The main attention should be directed to study and criticism. In criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we should concentrate on the question of the line and the reactionary nature of their attempts at restoration and regression, conduct a deep and thorough criticism politically and theoretically, and further criticize their idealist and metaphysical reactionary world outlook by applying the Marxist world outlook. The small number of organizations which have not done well in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius should take it up in real earnest. Further efforts are required for the study of the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole in order to make the past serve the present. While engaged in criticism, we should assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The criticism of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line should be combined still more closely with the study of Chairman Mao's military thinking, the enhancement of preparedness against war and the strengthening of army building. The criticism of Confucius should be combined still better with the study of the fundamental theories of Marxism on class struggle and on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should study more deeply Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program," Lenin's "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and "The State and Revolution," and Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" and his principal military works. Leading cadres should take the lead in study, strive to grasp the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and effectively build up the ranks of Marxist theoretical workers; only thus can they guide the rank-and-file in deepening revolutionary mass criticism.

Study and criticism must be linked closely with reality. Different points of emphasis should be selected according to different conditions in order to shoot the arrow at the target. We should conscientiously study the series of instructions issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and criticize Lin Piao's criminal attempts to split the Party and the ranks of the revolution and further promote revolutionary unity. We should deepen and carry forward the socialist revolution in all spheres of the superstructure, continue to do a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation and make a point of summing up the fresh experience in all fields of work and solving the new problems that have emerged. We should carry on education in the Party's basic line by linking it with the realities of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in all spheres and on all fronts,

stick to the socialist road and combat capitalist tendencies. First of all, leading organs must do well in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and stand in the van of the mass movement, and must be good at applying the method of combining the general with the particular in their guidance of work, and successfully grasp typical cases, the key links and initially one-third of the work as a whole, and gradually solve problems existing in their respective regions or departments in a down-to-earth way, so as to insure that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled in every basic unit. When it comes to practical problems, we must always consciously keep to the general orientation of the struggle, faithfully implement the policies of the Party, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and in particular correctly handle contradictions among the people, and deal accurate blows at the sabotaging activities of a handful of counter-revolutionaries. Only thus can we unite over 95 percent of the cadres and masses and steadily consolidate and enhance the excellent situation.

This is the concluding year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, and we must persevere in grasping revolution and promoting production, go all out, aim high and strive to fulfill or overfulfill the Fourth Five-Year Plan. We should continue to implement the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and arrange the national economic plan in the order of agriculture--light industry--heavy industry, develop agriculture in a big way, step up industrial support for agriculture, strengthen the basic industries and make earnest efforts to run national defense industries well. We should give scope to the revolutionary spirit of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and deepen the mass movement--in industry, learn from Taching; in agriculture, learn from Tachai; the whole nation should learn from the People's Liberation Army; the Liberation Army should learn from the people of the whole country. With the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, there is bound to be a new upsurge in socialist construction, and we must take this into full account. We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class and on the poor and lower-middle peasants, bring all positive factors into play, unite with all that can be united with and speed up our socialist construction.

The People's Liberation Army has made great contributions in the struggle to defend our socialist motherland and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the new year we should apply Chairman Mao's proletarian military thinking and military line in further strengthening army building, conscientiously improve military training, strengthen political and ideological work, display revolutionary heroism, and strengthen the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people. It is necessary to bring the militant role of the people's militia into full play. Armymen and civilians throughout the country should further implement the great strategic principles advanced by Chairman Mao: Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people and dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony. We are determined to liberate Taiwan!

We must continue to strengthen Party building and the Party's centralized leadership. Party committees at all levels must adhere to the principles "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split;

be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," and must serve as militant headquarters in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. They must practice democratic centralism, wage active ideological struggle, enhance unity among committee members and further improve the building of leading bodies at all levels. They must forge close links with the masses, do more investigation and study, maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor and accept revolutionary supervision by the masses. Party branches should play their part as the vanguard of the proletariat, and Party members should strive to fulfill the five requirements set for them in the Party Constitution, strengthen their Party spirit and observe Party discipline. The role of the revolutionary committees and that of organizations of workers, peasants, women and youths and other mass organizations should be given full scope under the unified leadership of the Party.

In the past year new successes have been achieved with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. The Chinese people's unity with the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world has become stronger, their cooperation with other countries of the Third World has steadily grown and their friendly interchanges with the people of various countries have further increased. At present, the international situation characterized by great disorder under heaven continues to develop in a direction favorable to the people of all countries. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution--this historical current is surging ahead. The Third World countries have become the main force in the revolutionary struggle against the two hegemonic powers. The two superpowers are having a tougher and tougher time and the world finds itself in a state of greater turbulence and unrest. We must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of international questions and strengthen our research on the international situation, particularly the contention between the two hegemonic powers--the Soviet Union and the United States--and the current economic crisis of world capitalism. We should continue to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and make due contributions to the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat and the cause of human progress.

"Ours is a just cause. A just cause is invulnerable to any enemy." As the new year starts, we hope the masses and cadres will review their work, discuss the situation and their tasks, and work out outline plans for their respective organizations so as to advance bravely towards new victories along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

* * *

Build Up the Ranks of Theorists for Opposing and Preventing Revisionism

by

Yüan Ch'ing (袁青)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

In the excellent situation in which the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius continues to develop in a widespread, thorough and sustained way, the entire Party is stepping up the building of the ranks of Marxist theorists in accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. A review of the history of the struggle on the theoretical front since the founding of new China, particularly since the great proletarian cultural revolution, will help us gain a deeper understanding of the importance of strengthening the building of the ranks of Marxist theorists and of how this should be done. It will also help us grasp the building of the ranks of Marxist theorists firmly and well as a task of fundamental, long-range significance for opposing and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The struggle on the theoretical front has always been an important aspect of class struggle. Under the conditions of socialism, the theoretical struggle always revolves around the question of whether to consolidate or to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We advocate 'letting a hundred schools of thought contend,' and that in every branch of learning there may be many schools and trends; in the matter of world outlook, however, there are now basically only two schools, the proletarian and the bourgeois." ("Speech at the CCP National Propaganda Work Conference") The struggle of the proletarian world outlook against the bourgeois world outlook, including that against revisionism,will remain a fundamental task in our struggle on the theoretical front for a long time to come. In socialist society, there are still classes and class struggle. "There are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") This condition inevitably will be reflected on the theoretical front. The landlord class and the bourgeoisie and their agents in the Party, who are vainly attempting to stage a comeback, will invariably make use of their positions in the ideological field to create counter-revolutionary public opinion, deceive people with all kinds of bourgeois and revisionist theories, ideas and slogans, and oppose and sabotage the socialist revolution. When the socialist transformation of the system of ownership was just beginning, Liu Shao-ch'i dished out the bourgeois slogan "consolidate the new democratic order." After the socialist transformation of the system of ownership was essentially completed, Liu Shao-ch'i and Ch'en Po-ta put forward the reactionary theory that the principal

contradiction in socialist society was "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces." During the socialist education movement in urban and rural areas, Liu Shao-ch'i distorted the principal contradiction in socialist society and advocated such absurdities as "the contradiction between the 'four cleans' and the 'four uncleans'" and "the intertwining of the contradictions inside and outside the Party." Such absurdities were always intended to obliterate or distort this basic fact: In our socialist society of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the principal contradiction is the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and the struggle between the two lines within the Party is a reflection in the Party of the class struggle in society. All such absurdities and slogans ran counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, were opposed to our Party's basic theory and practice for the socialist period, to the Party's basic line and to the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and represented a vain attempt to restore capitalism. In view of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist absurdities, Chairman Mao pointed out once again in January 1965: "Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so." In the past 10 years, we have conscientiously practiced this teaching of Chairman Mao's, adhered to the Party's basic line, smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, refuted, exposed and criticized their counter-revolutionary lies and sophistries, won great victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution and other fields of work, and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the other major theoretical struggles in the political and ideological spheres since the founding of the People's Republic of China, such as the criticism of the reactionary film "The Life of Wu Hsün," the criticism of bourgeois idealism in studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber," the criticism of the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, the struggle against the Rightists, the criticism of the reactionary metaphysical fallacy of "combining two into one," and so on, have also been linked with the question of whether to uphold or oppose the Party's basic line for the socialist period. Every step forward in the socialist revolution is always accompanied by a struggle between Marxism and revisionism and between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook; this is determined by the laws and characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period.

The great victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution have brought about revolutionary changes in all spheres of the superstructure. However, classes and class struggle still exist, the capitalist forces and influence still exist, and the struggle between Marxism and revision on the theoretical front remains acute and complicated. After the downfall of the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique inherited Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary cause and continued the contest of strength with our Party and the people politically and ideologically. In the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao has led the entire Party and the people of the whole country to repeatedly expose and criticize those anti-Marxist theories, trends of thought, slogans and tendencies, showed us the correct socialist course, and guided us in winning one new victory after another on the theoretical front.

In order to usurp the supreme power of Party and State and to oppose dialectical materialism upheld by Chairman Mao and his many instructions, the renegade Lin Piao painstakingly drew "nutrient" from the garbage can filled with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, capitalism and old and new revisionism to rig up his counter-revolutionary theories. The "theory of genius" dished out by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique at the Second Plenary Session of the 9th CCP Central Committee was their anti-Party theoretical program and served their plot to stage a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. They used idealist transcendentalism to oppose the materialist theory of reflection, the idealist conception of history to oppose the materialist conception of history, and rumors and sophistries to carry out theoretical deceptions. Some comrades, because they had not studied Marxism-Leninism sufficiently, failed to distinguish between materialism and idealism and for a time were fooled. It was at this crucial juncture that our great leader Chairman Mao perceptively saw through the conspiracies of Lin Piao and company, and warned the whole Party in good time not to be fooled by those who claimed to be versed in Marxism but who actually knew nothing about Marxism. This was a crushing blow to the plot of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique to stage a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat; it was also a major victory for Marxism in opposition to revisionism.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique had put forward various reactionary slogans in an attempt to split our Party. These slogans had one thing in common, that is, they denied that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the struggle between the two classes and two roads, negated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and opposed continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They distorted the serious class struggle and the struggle between the two lines as contradictions between "this part of the people" and "that part of the people," vainly attempting to fool some people with this. They tried their utmost to attack and vilify the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and slandered Party leadership as "feudal autocracy" so as to negate the Party's democratic centralism and the Party's taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking. However, under Chairman Mao's teachings, the whole Party raised its consciousness of the line and firmly defended its unity. Lin Piao's conspiracies to split the Party finally went totally bankrupt.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has pushed the socialist cause forward. The situation is excellent and getting better and better. However, the struggle between those affirming and those denying the excellent situation has been very acute all along. Out of their counter-revolutionary nature, Lin Piao and company and the handful of domestic and foreign class enemies represented by them invariably concentrated their attacks on one point to the complete disregard of the rest and described the excellent situation in our country as dark and messy. This is not in the least strange. Due to their counter-revolutionary class nature, they always used the bourgeois viewpoint to oppose and undermine the socialist economic base and superstructure. On the other hand, the reason why some of our comrades sometimes failed to see the excellent situation correctly was that they had not properly mastered materialist dialectics. At a time like this, Chairman Mao again taught us to use the Marxist-Leninist method to analyze the political situation and appraise the strength of various classes, and

made clear the vague concepts of some comrades on the question of the current question, thereby enabling us to understand that under the guidance of the correct line, the situation would always be good and the achievements always primary and filling us with confidence in the triumph of the socialist cause.

In the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, there have likewise existed struggles on the theoretical front. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius itself is a struggle through which Marxism prevails over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the sphere of superstructure. We can see the utmost importance of arming ourselves with Marxist theory if we recall the events of the past 3 years: How Chairman Mao has pointed out the correct theoretical orientation for us, how he guided us to roundly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the reactionary thinking of worshipping Confucianism and opposing Legalism, how he guided us to continue strengthening revolutionary unity, how he helped some comrades understand the relations between individual character and general character, whether the criticism of Lin Piao should be concerned with a criticism of his ultra-Right essence in betraying Party and State and restoring capitalism or a criticism of his ultra-"Left", etc.

During the past 20 years and more, the facts of class struggle on the theoretical front tell us that the conflict between materialism and idealism, between dialectics and metaphysics and between Marxism and revisionism is protracted. So long as classes and class struggle exist, and particularly at a crucial moment in the progress of class struggle and revolution, there will invariably emerge all kinds of trends and schools of thought opposing Marxism, revisionist distortions and revisions of the basic principles of Marxism, and corrosion and contamination of proletarian revolutionary principles by the bourgeois ideology. If we do not persist in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated. In the course of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, such a situation has appeared more than once. Because of their neglect of study of revolutionary theories and slighting theoretical struggle, many people were unable to distinguish genuine Marxism from sham Marxism, with the result that at one time they mistook certain incorrect views and tendencies as correct ones and supported them and thus followed the wrong tide. The practice of struggle has clearly pointed to the danger of losing one's bearings in the field of theory. We should seriously remember this serious lesson.

What has happened in the class struggle on the theoretical front also shows that it is impossible to repulse the attacks of the bourgeois and revisionist trends of thought and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat without a grand contingent of theorists capable of conducting criticism with Marxism. It is for this reason that Chairman Mao has many times stressed the importance of building a contingent of Marxist theorists on the plane of combating and preventing revisionism. Without such a force, in his opinion, it will be impossible to fully consolidate the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. In addition, Chairman Mao has paid close attention to and expressed concern for the newborn forces on the theoretical front, ardently cherishing and enthusiastically supporting the "small

characters" who dare to use Marxism to criticize the bourgeois world outlook and all types of anti-Marxist trends. Prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, although some areas and units had trained a number of theoretical researchers, yet due to the influence and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, many people headed in the wrong direction and so were unable to play a militant role in the theoretical struggle, with some even sinking into the quagmire of revisionism. Such experiences and lessons profoundly reveal that to do a good job in building a contingent of Marxist theorists, the first important thing is to pay full attention to the issues of orientation and the line. When the orientation is right and the line correct, our contingent of theorists will certainly become one of dauntless fighters in the theoretical struggle, who will distinguish themselves in swooping down upon the enemy and capturing his ideological fortress. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, a number of theoretical workers have done a great deal of work and made significant contributions in the struggle to criticize the revisionist lines peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao because they have firmly implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and persisted in making theoretical work serve the current class struggle and struggle between the two lines.

Following the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, contingents of theorists have mushroomed in various units and areas, and are continually growing and swelling. A favorable situation has prevailed in which the masses of people are vigorously studying the history of the Confucius-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole under the guidance of backbone theorists. This is a revolutionary, new thing worthy of our support. Although criticism of Confucius is more difficult than that of Lin Piao, the masses, once mobilized, have been able to thoroughly discredit Confucius. Naturally, we must appreciate that theoretical work is not something that can be accomplished merely by studying one or two issues, neither is it something that can be accomplished in one or two years--it is a long-term militant task, which confronts the contingent of theorists with many problems. To continue grasping the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we must under no circumstances relax own fighting will because of the achievements made, and a great deal of work must still be done in this respect. It is necessary to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought concerning the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to continue raising our awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said: The dictatorship of the proletariat "is not only necessary to the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also essential to the entire historical period between capitalism and 'classless society,' that is, communism. Only those who understand this can be said to have learned the essence of the Marxist theory of state." ("State and Revolution") We must further understand the issues of the proletariat strengthening its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and sum up the experiences of "the proletariat in exercising complete dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure including various spheres of culture." We must not only study and sum up the experience in China's class struggle, past and present, but also study the various issues arising in the course of class

struggle abroad, including the contention between the two hegemonic powers and the economic crisis of capitalism. To accomplish this task, we must devote ourselves to popularizing such study guided by the elevation of standards and to raising standards continuously on the basis of popularization. We must give first place to an arduous study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works and exert strenuous efforts in studying the basic theories of Marxism. We must link serious studying and reading with participation in actual struggle--this is an important way to raise the standards of the contingent of theorists. Only thus can we turn Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought into a weapon in our hands to combat the bourgeoisie and revisionism. With consideration to the special features of professional theorists and worker-peasant-soldier theorists who do not divorce themselves from production, many localities have created rich experiences in raising their Marxist theoretical levels. These experiences we must sum up and popularize.

Learning to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in discerning all theories, trends of thought and slogans and in distinguishing right from wrong is an important aspect of building the ranks of Marxist theorists. As socialism gains the predominant position in the ideological struggle and the basic force of political power is in the hands of the laboring people led by the proletariat, the various kinds of bourgeois and revisionist theories, trends of thought and slogans emerging in society invariably appear in a disguised form designed to deceive people. However, as long as we have the telescope and microscope--Marxism--in hand, we will find that they are all products of a given economic base reflecting given class interests and we will be able to expose their reactionary class essence. An examination, from the basic viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, of how all anti-Marxist theories, trends of thought and slogans have responded to the basic questions in philosophy and what attitude they have taken toward the laws of the development of history will enable us to expose the fact that the ideological and political line they push are theoretically founded on idealism and metaphysics and characterized by "the split between the subjective and the objective and separation of knowledge from practice." They aim vainly to turn back the wheel of history and to restore the old production relations and social system. The current struggle is a continuation and development of the historical struggle. All kinds of anti-Marxist trends of thought currently in existence in society have their historical sources. To discern them, it is necessary to link the current struggle with the historical struggle, trace the "source" by the "flow," and study how they returned to their "predecessors," inherited those viewpoints that had been overcome, and invoked the deal souls in history to stage a new counter-revolutionary restoration farce. We must strive to master this materialist, dialectical and historical way of analyzing things amid struggle. If we have already learned some Marxist theories but lose our critical ability once we run into erroneous thoughts and tendencies, this means that we have not yet mastered the theories well. To judge whether the theoretical level of a contingent of Marxist theorists is high or not and whether its fighting power is strong enough, one of the important criteria is to find out whether or not they can distinguish the

various kinds of anti-Marxist manifestations in theoretical struggles and whether or not they can fight against them with unremitting efforts.

The struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism is a long-term task on the theoretical front. The struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius which is developing in a thorough way is of far-reaching significance to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the development of socialist undertakings and to the prevention of capitalist restoration. Lin Piao worshipped Confucius, opposed the Legalist school, attacked Ch'in Shih-huang and used the Confucian and Mencian doctrines as his ideological weapons to carry out a counter-revolutionary restoration. We must study the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools with a Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, expose the reactionary and deceptive nature of Confucianism, rectify the distortions of the Legalist school by reactionaries in history, scientifically sum up the experience in class struggle of the past and draw lessons which are beneficial to the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship to serve the current struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism. It is our firm conviction that tempered in the current class struggle and struggle between the two lines, a huge contingent of Marxist theorists will quickly mature and grow to win still greater victories in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and carry the great struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

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Seriously Enforce the System of Cadre Participation in Labor

by

Yü Tung (于冬)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1975)

Recently many leading cadres have gone to some basic-level units to work alongside the masses. Pulling carts and carrying heavy loads on their shoulders, they have worked hard to grasp revolution and promote production. They have also propagated among the masses the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and the excellent situation at home and abroad. They have talked to the masses and listened to their opinions, while conducting investigations and study. This has aroused the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and promoted revolutionary unity. A new upsurge of going all out, aiming high and setting high production records has appeared in many units. This is a new atmosphere resulting from the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Our great leader Chairman Mao regards cadre participation in manual labor as an important task in fighting and guarding against revisionism, pointing out: "By taking part in collective productive labor, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism." The consolidation and development of the "May 7" cadre schools and the gradual formation of the system under which all cadres, except those who are old, weak, ill or disabled, take part in collective productive labor, have testified to this truth pointed out by Chairman Mao, and the recent participation by leading cadres in labor once again proves it.

For our leading cadres at all levels to properly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies and to do good revolutionary work, the most essential thing for them is to study seriously, maintain close ties with the masses, join the masses to become one of them, and grasp the leadership method of "from the masses, to the masses." There is no other "shortcut." An effective way to achieve this is to go to basic-level units to take part in labor on a regular basis. By working together with the masses and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them as common laborers, leading cadres will soon become close friends with the masses. With concern shown by the higher level to the lower level and with the confidence of the masses in their leaders, coupled with unobstructed communication between the leading cadres and the masses and their joint efforts in solving problems, there is no task which cannot be fulfilled and no difficulty that cannot be overcome. Of course, there are a variety of ways for leading cadres to maintain close ties with the masses, and holding investigation meetings and conducting regular investigations and study is one of the basic methods. However, taking part in labor plays a unique role. Through participation in labor, leading cadres and the masses can toil and sweat together to form a close friendship,

not only encouraging and inspiring each other in grasping revolution and promoting production but also greatly strengthening their mutual revolutionary feelings and revolutionary unity. Such strong revolutionary unity will surely turn into a tremendous force in grasping revolution and promoting production and achieving still greater victories. The workers say rightly: Although the work done by leading cadres in labor is limited, the force they generate by working together with the masses is unlimited.

To a leading cadre, although there are many things to do, the most important one is still to mobilize the strength of the masses and to give full play to their enthusiasm and initiative. As Chairman Mao pointed out long ago, "The masses have potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism." Particularly, through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, their revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary drive have never been higher. This is a favorable condition for developing the excellent situation and accelerating the pace of revolution and construction. However, the development of work on various fronts is invariably uneven. By regularly going deep among the masses to sum up the experiences of the advanced units and to grasp weak links--particularly going to work and help in those units whose work can affect the whole situation--leading cadres can often play a greater promotional role in achieving still greater victories in revolution and production. By setting an example in taking part in labor and offering assistance in work, leading cadres can, in the words of the masses, issue "silent orders," which are more effective than any administrative orders of the cadres in arousing the revolutionary zeal of the masses and bringing their enthusiasm and creativeness into play. This can be forcefully proved by the rapid improvement in production outlook of certain weak units where leading cadres have come to participate in labor and assist in work.

Going deep among the masses and taking part in labor provides a good opportunity and a good way for leading cadres to investigate and study things. When a leading cadre participates in labor and mixes with the masses, the latter are more willing to confide in him and inform him of the real situation. Through labor and discussions with the masses and by taking the masses as teachers, leading cadres can listen to their opinions directly. Thus, they will be able to fully understand and concretely feel the major contradictions in work, the crux of certain problems, the fine experiences, problems that merit attention, the demands and desires of the masses, etc. Such perceptual knowledge derived directly from labor is very valuable because it helps to deepen our understanding of the current movement, more properly integrate theory with reality, and avoid subjectivism. Although some comrades have gone among the masses and taken part in labor only recently, they have sharpened their eyes, become more active in thinking, pondered over problems more realistically, and shown more confidence in doing their job well. This is because they have the help of such first-hand perceptual material and the many experiences and opinions provided by the masses.

In "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "No one in a leading position is competent to give general guidance to all the units unless he derives concrete experience from

particular individuals and events in particular subordinate units." We must act on this instruction of Chairman Mao's by regularly going deep among the masses to understand the specific conditions of basic-level units and to sum up the various fresh and concrete experiences created by the masses in carrying out various tasks. It is a prerequisite for us to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to analyze these specific conditions and sum up these concrete experiences if we are to correctly formulate and execute our policies and implement the mass line. Some comrades are often satisfied with making general calls and giving general guidance, thinking that taking part in labor and conducting investigation and study at the basic-level units is a "waste" of time and will "affect" their daily work. As a result, general call is set against individual guidance, and general guidance against investigation and study among the masses. This is one-sided and wrong. General calls and guidance are important and necessary, but only when general calls are combined with individual guidance can they become effective. Similarly, only when general guidance is based on investigation of typical cases can it be effective. In some departments work progressed slowly or some problems remained unsettled for a long time. This is not because the leading cadres there did not do any work but because they were often content with general calls without seriously giving individual guidance and because they did not have a sufficient understanding of the actual circumstances and failed to do their work in a proper manner. Recent experience has also proved that when leading cadres go down to take part in labor and conduct investigation and study, this not only will not "waste" time or "affect" daily work, but make it possible to grasp the main contradictions in work and find the crux of the problems, thereby changing the passive situation, gaining the initiative in work and winning the race against time. As those leading cadres who have taken part in labor at basic-level units have said, conducting investigation and study in the course of labor enables them to know the real situation, present realistic measures, and offer timely solutions to problems, while successfully avoiding bureaucracy.

Cadre participation in collective productive labor not only is an effective way to maintain close ties with the masses and make investigation and study, but is also a basic measure for remolding world outlook, fighting and guarding against revisionism, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out that since a "new bourgeoisie" might emerge from among the Soviet workers, upholding the system of cadre participation in labor is an important way of guarding against such a situation. Collective productive labor is a big crucible for revolutionizing thinking. The sweat of labor can cleanse away the bureaucratic style of work and listlessness. Working regularly with the masses will bring us closer to the masses in thinking and feelings and maintain our vigorous revolutionary spirit. Leading cadres at all levels, irrespective of whether their positions are high or low, are all ordinary laborers and servants of the people. Between the leader and the led there is only the difference in the division of work, there is no difference in class status. If leading cadres divorce themselves from the masses and do not participate in labor, they will forget their identity as ordinary laborers and will even put on airs and seek privileges. In this way, not only will they fail to do their leading work well, but they can easily be captured by the bourgeoisie. Thus, by going regularly among the masses to participate in labor when they are inspired

by the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death displayed among the masses and influenced by their revolutionary style of hard work and simple living, leading cadres will feel that putting on airs and seeking privileges is nothing but a vulgar taste and that preserving the features of ordinary laborers and sharing the weal and woe of the masses is a noble quality. This will help promote the transformation of their world outlook.

It should be noted that the ideological revolutionization of leading cadres at all levels is an important question bearing on whether our Party and State will change their color. We all know that in the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. Class enemies at home and abroad understand that it is easiest to destroy a fortress from within. An important tactic adopted by them has been that of bringing about a peaceful evolution and attempting to use bourgeois ideas to corrupt some of our cadres, turning them from servants of the people into revisionist overlords riding on the backs of the masses. Against this, leading cadres at all levels must maintain high vigilance. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, an important reason why some cadres made mistakes was that they had seriously divorced themselves from the masses, lost the thinking and feelings of the laboring people to a certain extent, and neglected the interests of the laboring people. Young and veteran cadres alike in our various leading groups should learn from this lesson and inherit and carry forward the fine tradition of cadre participation in collective productive labor and of maintaining close ties with the masses--a tradition Chairman Mao has always advocated. Many new cadres come from the worker-peasant masses and preserve the features of ordinary laborers--this is a very fine point. But after their position has changed following their assignment to leading work, they must still abide by Chairman Mao's teaching, "work, but do not detach yourself from production," participate in labor regularly, and mingle with the masses in order to effectively curb the erosion of bourgeois ideology and further promote the revolutionization of their way of thinking.

With regard to cadre participation in labor, there has always been a struggle between two ideas and two lines. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have always regarded cadre participation in collective productive labor as an important aspect of implementing the proletarian revolutionary line, and a major task of fundamental importance. Particularly memorable is Chairman Mao's participation in labor in building the Ming Tomb reservoir in 1958, which set a brilliant example for the whole Party. With great concern shown by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, large numbers of cadres have for many years carried forward the glorious tradition of taking part in collective productive labor and accumulated a lot of good experience. However, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, chieftains of the opportunist line, continually peddled the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, opposing and undermining the system of cadre participation in labor and wildly attempting to make cadres peacefully turn into overlords sitting on the backs of the people in order to attain their goal of restoring capitalism. To uphold the system of

cadre participation in labor, we must continue to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and repudiate the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. At the same time, we must also criticize all ideas and old habits of the exploiting classes in holding labor in contempt. Only by so doing can we help large numbers of cadres carry forward the Party's glorious tradition.

It is particularly important for cadres to persevere in participating in labor. We must deepen our understanding of the importance of working alongside the masses on the plane of the line, continue to raise our consciousness of clinging to this system, and uphold it with positive actions. With the lead taken by many leading cadres, an upsurge in cadre participation in labor has recently appeared on various fronts, with many units having worked out or revised specific rules for cadres to take part in labor. By upholding this system more properly, leading cadres at all levels will certainly exert favorable effects on further revolutionization of thinking and style of work among comrades of the whole Party, and will surely greatly promote the cause of fighting and guarding against revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism.

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It Is Necessary to Have a Good Grasp of Work in One-Third of An Area First

by

Hsiang Wei (向伟)

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"It is necessary to have a good grasp of the work in one-third of an area first"--this is a materialist-dialectical work method and a Marxist art of leadership Chairman Mao initiated for the whole Party during the 9th Party Congress. For the past several years, in compliance with Chairman Mao's teachings, many areas and units have seriously grasped well the work in one-third of an area first during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry and from Tachai in agriculture and in the socialist revolution in the sphere of culture and education. This has promoted the development of the socialist cause. Under the current excellent situation, we must redouble our efforts to accomplish many heavy revolutionary tasks and handle various kinds of work well. This requires us to gain a greater mastery of this scientific method of work. A method is a "bridge" or "boat" in the fulfillment of a task. By making revolution and carrying out construction according to scientific methods of work, we will do our work penetratingly and in a down-to-earth manner, enabling Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies to be implemented more properly.

Why do we say that having a good grasp of work in one-third of an area first is a scientific work method? Because it fits in with the objective laws governing the development of things and the principles of the Marxist theory of knowledge.

Materialist dialectics tells us that things always develop from a point to the whole area, from small to big, from quantative change to qualitative change, and from partial to complete qualitative change. We cannot understand and transform the objective world overnight but in a process of wave-like forward development. The work method of "having a good grasp of work in one-third of an area first" exactly reflects the objective dialectics of development of things. Chairman Mao says: "In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one by one. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plow the land plot by plot." In doing any other work, we also can only do it unit by unit and group by group of people, and solve problems one by one. Only in this way can we "concentrate a superior force" to bring it to bear on those units whose work can have the greatest influence on the whole situation and to "destroy the enemy forces one by one" instead of scattering our forces and spreading them thin to get little results. To do work without grasping the key points and typical examples and without first grasping well work in one-third of an area and to do it generally throughout a whole area at once--such a metaphysical method of work would produce consequences to the revolutionary cause, of which many comrades with practical work experience are more deeply aware. If you want to catch ten fleas with ten fingers, you won't be able to catch one.

Perhaps some comrades feel that work would be "too slow" when only one-third of an area is grasped first. The fact is not so. Though one-third of an area is only a part, to grasp it well and realistically and to really solve the key problems will bear significantly on the whole situation. With one-third of an area grasped and then another one-third tackled, a complete victory for the work of the whole area is certain. Therefore, to first grasp well one-third appears on the surface to be a slow process, but actually it is a work method for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The process of grasping well one-third of an area is also one of "practice and knowledge, and again practice and again knowledge." By first grasping well one-third of an area, it is possible to gradually apply the experience of one point to the practice of a whole area, not only guiding the work throughout the whole area but also testing, developing and enriching the experience of one point. Because some typical experience is directly obtained from a point, it must be tested when it is applied to the whole area. This is because when the experience of a point is extended to the whole area, there may be new conditions and problems, making it necessary to first gain experience from parts of an area and a number of units so as to integrate the experiences of a point with the practical conditions of these parts and units and further propose practical measures for extending the experience to the entire area. It is even more necessary to apply the advanced experience of others through our own practice; otherwise, we cannot possibly turn it into our own, still less using it to guide the work of an entire area. The experience of a point is created within a definite time frame, in a given location and under given conditions. Besides having the significance of general guidance, it necessarily suffers from certain limitations. Therefore, to popularize the experience of a point, it is imperative to adopt the method of gradual extension. First through practice in one-third of an area, the experience is developed, improved, and made more perfect, so that it can be better popularized throughout the area. If we do not adopt the method of gradual extension and do not give consideration to the concrete conditions of various parts of an area and various units in popularizing typical experience but spread it in the manner of a heavy shower throughout the area, such typical experience will not be accepted by the whole area and will lose its effect as a guide. In that case, it cannot take root, blossom and bear fruit throughout the whole area.

Stressing the need to first grasp well the work in one-third of an area is of great significance to raising the thinking of leadership and improving the style of leadership. To do so in a real sense, it is necessary to make great efforts. If leading cadres stay in the office for a long time without getting down to the grassroots level, they are bound to divorce themselves from reality and from the masses and inevitably practice subjectivism and bureaucratism in work. This is not the way to grasp well work in one-third of an area. A leading cadre must take a group of cadres to the lower level to make direct contact with the masses. On the one hand, they must learn from the masses, drawing nourishment from the experience of mass struggle. On the other hand, they must be the teachers of the masses, appropriately organizing their enthusiasm, consolidating

and sustaining it, directing it toward the correct channels as well as raising it to a higher level. Thus, we can guard against and overcome the subjectivist and bureaucratic style of making decisions and issuing orders from the office without investigation and study; we can persist in and develop the fine style of linking theory with reality and keeping in close touch with the masses, thereby doing our work with fine results. Some comrades say: "Previously, confined to our office and divorced from reality, we were empty-headed. Guided by the transcendentalist theory, we changed our thinking and became lazy. Now that we have gone to the grassroots level to get in touch with reality, we have increased our abilities. Applying revolutionary theory to action, we have become active in thinking and in work."

Some comrades wonder: If forces are concentrated on one-third of the area, would it mean ignoring the other two-thirds? Such a misgiving is unnecessary. In first grasping well one-third of an area, we do not mean going about it at random. We have to grasp that part which has a major impact on the whole situation, the part which represents all kinds of different units. By grasping this part well, we will have caught the chain linking up the whole situation to propel the whole situation forward. In this sense, by first grasping well one-third of the area, we will have the other two-thirds or even more taken care of. Moreover, when we are grasping one-third of the area, there are also people to take care of the work in the entire area.

There are also some comrades who think: "To grasp well one-third of the area means to grasp typical examples, and there is no longer any need to grasp any point." This view is wrong. If we do not grasp a point, we will have no typical examples and there will be no direction in which to grasp the work in one-third of the area, for we can do so only under the guidaace and stimulation of typical examples. If one-third of an area is taken as a typical example and grasping one-third replaces grasping of typical examples, we will have no distinction between a point and an area and cannot use a point to guide an area or integrate them. This is not the real way to grasp work in one-third of an area well. To grasp well one-third first means that as far as a point is concerned, experience is to be gradually popularized from a point to the area, and that as far as the other two-thirds of the area are concerned, the one-third is an enlarged point. It can also be said that the one-third of the area is an expanded typical example, the epitome of the entire situation. Grasping the typical examples well and then one-third of the area and using the point to lead the area--this will bring about a booming revolutionary atmosphere throughout the entire area.

Whether or not we "first grasp well one-third" in work will produce different results. Take the case of Anhsiang hsien, Hunan Province. Previously, the hsien Party committee had no confidence in changing the features of the hsien, the class enemies took the opportunity to carry out sabotage, and capitalist forces emerged; agricultural production made little progress. The output of grain was very low, with only 300-400 catties per mow. Since the great cultural revolution, the hsien Party committee had seriously summed up the experience of the Party branch of Tiehluwan

brigade in doggedly learning from Tachai in agriculture, vigorously carrying out the class struggle, and rearranging mountains and rivers. How was this experience to be popularized? They improved their style of leadership, revolutionized their office and applied scientific methods of work in first solving one-third of the problems in the area and then another one-third of the problems, and finally they proceeded from the part to the whole. A new atmosphere appeared in revolution and production. Now, the whole hsien has built up the 200,000 mow of farmland in square blocks lined with trees and with a network of channels. These are big socialist farms. Since 1969, grain output has surpassed the target set in the Program [for Agricultural Development] every year, exceeding the 1,000-catty mark in two of them. This fact eloquently shows how important adherence to scientific work methods is to the proper performance of work and to the transformation of things!

As to how to first grasp one-third well, many areas and units have through years of practice accumulated certain experiences. To seriously sum up these experiences is entirely necessary in further implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies and in fulfilling all revolutionary tasks.

In first grasping one-third well, we must make overall plans and overall arrangements. Only by first grasping those parts with a vital bearing on the whole situation can we produce a great impact. To break an area or a unit into three parts in a simple and mechanical way and then pick one of them at random is not the right way to do things. The correct approach should be to grasp two ends and lead the middle. This is because in any place there are two ends, namely, the advanced and backward, and those in between always make up the majority. By grasping the advanced and backward as two opposites, we can greatly influence and lead the middle to move along. Thus, to select purposefully different types of areas and units, develop work there and, by means of extending the experience of the point, make them into models for their own types, we can enable the advanced to be more advanced, the backward to catch up with the advanced, and the whole area to forge ahead.

Some manpower is needed to grasp one-third well. Where does this manpower come from? It can only come from leading organs and departments at various levels. It may be mobilized in different ways. One is this: On-the-job office cadres practice the "three-three system," with one-third of them assigned to points, one-third to work in the area, and the remaining one-third to routine work. They are to change places periodically. This will provide a reliable guarantee for grasping one-third well in the organizational aspect, and will greatly promote the revolutionization of the office and the thinking of cadres. "In the reform of state organs, the most essential requirement is to maintain close ties with the masses." When a large number of cadres are sent to the lower level to grasp one-third and only a small number is kept in the office to attend to routine work, this will help to attain the goal of "better troops and simplified administration" in office operation, overcome "5-excesses," turn to the masses, and serve the basic level. Only when office cadres are released from routine affairs and given the chance to go deep into the basic level regularly to take part in labor,

maintain extensive and close ties with the masses and really become one with the masses can they work effectively and with good results. At the same time, they may learn from the masses, absorb rich political nutrient, transform their world outlook, revolutionize their thinking, and train themselves into stout proletarian fighters at the frontline of the three great revolutionary movements and in the practice of class and line struggles.

When cadres, irrespective of their level, go down to grasp one-third, they must place themselves under the centralized leadership of the Party committee and rely on basic-level Party organizations in doing their work. If they are divorced from the majority of cadres and people, they can hardly grasp the one-third well or fulfill their revolutionary tasks. They must be good advisers--this is the demand and hope of the vast numbers of basic-level cadres and the masses. They would not be welcomed by the basic-level organizations if they ran the show for others or just folded their arms and watched. They must trust and rely on the great majority of cadres, join them in assiduously reading the works of Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's works, help them raise their consciousness of class struggle and line struggle and thoroughly implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. They must trust and rely on the vast majority of the masses, be good at discovering and arousing the positive factors among the masses, and ardently support and foster socialist new things. When the masses are aroused by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they will display inexhaustible strength in the fight against the class enemy, capitalist tendencies and nature.

In grasping one-third of an area, what should be done with special emphasis? The most important thing is to adhere to the Party's basic line, continue doing well in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, vigorously grasp class and line struggles, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and carry out the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the basic level. The struggle between two classes, two roads and two lines exists in all fields. Whatever we do, there is the question of where we should go. By grasping the Party's basic line as a key link and continuously using Marxism to defeat revisionism and socialism to defeat capitalism, we will do well in all kinds of work. If we do not hold a firm grip of this fundamental issue but are entangled with concrete things instead of taking care of big things, not only will we fail to do our work well and promote production, but, and this is a more serious question, will depart from the socialist orientation and slip down the capitalist evil road. Therefore, whenever we go to work in basic-level units on the industrial and communication, the rural, finance and trade, cultural and educational and other fronts, we must mix with the local cadres and masses and, on the high plane of class and line struggles, observe the situation, analyze the problems, keep in close touch with the reality, continue to penetratingly criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and capitalist tendencies, and deal stunning blows to the class enemy's disruptive activities. We must use the vivid facts of local class and line struggles in giving the broad masses of cadres and people a penetrating education on the Party's basic line, to make everyone understand the reasons why "only socialism can save China"and to follow the socialist road consciously and unswervingly. Only by grasping this fundamental thing can we really handle the one-third successfully.

Some people say: "We have grasped one-third many times. It is time to get it over with." This is a metaphysical viewpoint. As the situation is developing continuously, there is no end to the revolution. New things keep cropping up and new problems appear endlessly. One new task follows another. We must continuously analyze the new situation and use scientific methods to solve new problems and fulfill new assignments in the light of new circumstances and new tasks. Work is done in a recurrent manner without end. In grasping the one-third of work in each cycle, there will be new content and work will be raised to a still higher level. Therefore, whatever we do, we must master the dialectical-materialist world outlook and methodology and apply the scientific work method of "first grasping one-third well" on a long-term basis.

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It Is Necessary to Have an Overall Plan

by

Kung Hsiao-wen (宫效闻)

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In a situation marked by the penetrating development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the masses and cadres of many units, in response to the directive "Overall planning, stronger leadership" put forward by Chairman Mao a long time ago, are drawing up long-range plans for building socialism. This is a practice that deserves to be encouraged.

Every time an upsurge of socialist revolution appears in our country since its founding, more brilliant prospects are invariably unfolded before people's eyes, inspiring them to plan more consciously for their great future. The making of long-range plans reflects the lofty and ambitious goals of the proletariat and its scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, making it possible not only to marshal the potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm of the masses for socialism, tap the potential of various sectors and form a huge force but also to carry out among the broad masses a concrete and lively education on the future of socialism and communism.

Chairman Mao says, "The Party's line is a correct line for development. It is necessary, on the one hand, to oppose hackneyed conservative viewpoints and, on the other, to oppose hollow and unrealistic grandiose schemes. Such is the struggle of the Party on the two fronts of financial and economic work." This should also be true for drawing up plans. We must correctly establish the concept of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. We must implement Chairman Mao's instruction, "In making plans, it is essential to mobilize the masses and see to it that there is enough leeway." Should we struggle arduously to build up our new enterprise and work diligently and quickly to make more contributions, or should we be satisfied with the gradual approach of "making some progress every year, though not big"? This is a struggle between two kinds of thinking. It is when we set up lofty proletarian goals and map out plans that we can inspire and organize the masses. A plan is to be gradually realized through hard struggle, and is not to be displayed only. Nor do the masses desire those "hollow and unrealistic grandiose schemes," which in no way reflect the lofty ambitions of the proletariat. Therefore, in the course of making plans it is necessary to avoid unrealistic ways of doing things and to see to it that there is enough leeway.

In making plans, we must rely on the masses. Only plans made in this way can be forward-looking and reliable. As Chairman Mao has said, if a plan or a target is fixed without a debate by the masses, the idea is yours; but after the debate, the masses become masters and naturally will work more energetically. Although we have criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao as well as the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, owing to the protracted existence of the struggle between the two lines and two ideologies, such old ideas and practices as not trusting or relying on the masses, "the leadership is wise" and "the

highest is wise and the lowest is stupid" will still from time to time be reflected in the course of making plans. Therefore, the course of making and implementing plans is also one of deeply criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Without criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, not only will we fail to make good plans, but there will be the danger of our taking the wrong track.

In making plans, it is necessary to implement some fundamental directives issued by Chairman Mao concerning socialist revolution and construction, such as "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony" and "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." Not only must we see the whole situation, but we must also see the part and pay attention to both long-term and short-term planning. Some comrades say: "Whether you make any plan or not, the important thing is to take care of the present." Is this right? It is right, but not enough. On the meaning of long-term planning, Chairman Mao has stated long ago: "The purpose of this kind of planning is to have a long-term target so that the sight of the people will not be restricted to the step immediately in front of them." Not having a long-term goal but setting your sight only on the step under your nose--this is not the style of a proletarian revolutionary; it is the style of a routinist. Only by linking long-term planning with short-term planning can we realize short-term planning more properly. Many advanced units have the following experience: Having made long-term plans and mustering the zeal of the masses, they then strike while the iron is hot and make short-term plans which are immediately put into effect. This enables the masses to see the effects of all-round planning and "work more energetically as they see long-term prospects turn into short-term ones." Thus, their enthusiasm aroused further, they make greater efforts to fulfill the overall plan.

In making plans, we must persistently take the Party's basic line as the key link and adhere to the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." An economic department or a production unit must not only draw up a plan for economic development within a number of years but must also draw up plans for grasping class struggle and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, for strengthening political and ideological work and consolidating and enlarging the ideological position of socialism and for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius in a broad, deep-going and substained manner. At the same time, various departments of the superstructure that are charged with safeguarding the socialist economic base must also make their own plans to make their work correspond with the development of revolution and production. The basic aim of plans set by the various departments of the superstructure is to use Marxism to dominate the entire area of the superstructure including philosophy, history, education, literature and art and jurisprudence, to strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and to ceaselessly expand the ideological position of socialism so as to enable the superstructure to serve more properly the consolidation of the socialist economic base. The development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the appearance and growth of such new-born things as contingents of worker-peasant-soldier Marxist theorists have presented many new problems to the various departments of the superstructure, requiring their continuous

improvement to suit the new development of the economic base. To draw up a workable plan, sum up the experience, develop the achievements and correct the mistakes--this is a good way to solve the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base.

Chairman Mao says, "Mankind has been developing for several hundred thousand years. In China, not until now did we have the conditions for developing our economy and culture according to plans. Since these conditions have been acquired, China's features will change year after year. There will be a relatively big change every five years and a bigger change once over several five-year periods." For the past quarter century, particularly since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the features of our mother country have undergone tremendous changes. China has become a socialist country with initial prosperity. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has further mobilized the socialist activism of the broad masses of people. So long as we resolutely implement the Party's basic line and enforce the policy of "overall planning and stronger leadership," several five-year periods hence, "that is, by the 21st century, China's face will undergo an even greater change. China will become a powerful socialist industrial country. This is what China should be, because China is a country with an area of 9,600,000 square kilometers and a population of 600 million and China should make greater contributions toward mankind."

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Uphold the Unity of Theory and Reality

- Study "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War"

by

Chi P'ing (纪平)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" is a well-known military work written by Chairman Mao in 1936. In this work, applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, Chairman Mao scientifically summed up the experience of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, and enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist military theory. He sharply criticized Wang Ming's opportunist line politically, militarily and ideologically, and also directly criticized Lin Piao's anti-Marxist theory and practice. For us to study this article is of great significance in deepening our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, strengthening war preparedness, and persisting in the unity of theory and reality in socialist revolution and construction today.

In this work Chairman Mao began by stressing the need to make the unity of theory and practice and the unity of the subjective and the objective the fundamental ideological principle in the study of the problems of strategy in China's revolutionary war. He pointed out: "We must study not only the laws of war in general, but the specific laws of revolutionary war, and the even more specific laws of revolutionary war in China." "As in any job we demand a comparatively high degree of competence, so in war we demand more victories or, conversely, fewer defeats. There the crux is to bring the subjective and the objective into proper correspondence with each other." Whether or not to persist in the unity of theory and reality and the unity of the subjective and the objective is a philosophical reflection of the struggle between the proletarian military line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois military line of the "Left" and Right opportunists.

Chairman Mao pointed out that strategy is the study of the laws of a war situation as a whole. "The task of the science of strategy is to study those laws for directing a war that governs a war situation as a whole." "Why is it necessary for the commander of a campaign or a tactical operation to understand the laws of strategy to some degree? Because an understanding of the whole facilitates the handling of the part, and because the part is subordinate to the whole." These teachings of Chairman Mao's still serve as an important guide for our comrades working on all fronts. Only by correctly understanding the laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction as a whole and the basic strategy for our struggle with imperialism and social-imperialism, and only by adhering to the Party's basic line can we perform our tasks better and achieve unity of theory and reality in doing our work. If we are ignorant of the law that governs the situation as a whole, we will go astray in performing our own work. Chairman Mao correctly solved the problems of strategy in China's revolutionary war and led it to win one victory after another.

Precisely because opportunist lines went wrong in strategy and against objective realities, there were bound to be mistakes in directing a campaign or a tactical operation.

The Marxist principle of the unity of theory and reality consistently advocated by Chairman Mao means the application in practical work of the general and specific dialectics. Marxist-Leninist theory provides us with a correct stand, viewpoint and method for carrying out revolutionary struggle. Mastery of this theory will enable us to understand the causes of wars and their development, distinguish their nature, and foresee their future development and possible changes. But Marxist-Leninist theory has not provided and cannot provide us with a concrete formula for directing each war. The nature and laws of revolutionary wars are different from those of general wars. Since there are specific conditions and specific laws governing the revolutionary war in each country, in studying the laws for directing war we should, in addition to studying its general laws, "lay stress on its characteristics and development." If we fail to integrate theory with reality and to make the subjective correspond with the objective, we shall lose our subjective command ability and go down the road of defeat. Only by using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to make a concrete analysis of wars in order to "familiarize ourselves with all aspects of the enemy situation and our own, to discover the laws governing the actions of both sides and to make use of these laws in our own operations," can we win victory in war.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" is an example of upholding the unity of theory and reality and the unity of the subjective and objective. In this brilliant work, which systematically expounded the basic theory and the strategic and tactical principles for the revolutionary war in China, Chairman Mao first of all defined the two types of wars, just and unjust , pointing out: "We support just wars but oppose unjust wars. All counter-revolutionary wars are unjust, and all revolutionary wars are just." This thoroughly refutes the slander and attacks by the reactionaries and opportunists within the Party against revolutionary wars, upholds the Marxist war concept, and points out the correct point of departure in the solution of the problem of laws for China's revolutionary war. Chairman Mao then incisively analyzed a few major characteristics--China's history and present conditions, the class relations in that period, the balance of strength between ourselves and the enemy, the fact that China was a big semi-colonial country which had undergone a big revolution and was in a state of political and economic imbalance, the powerful enemy, the weak and small Red Army and the agrarian revolution. He pointed out: "These characteristics determine the line for guiding China's revolutionary war and many strategic and tactical principles for the war."

Precisely on the basis of a scientific analysis of the subjective and objective conditions, Chairman Mao sagaciously put forward the brilliant strategic concept of "worker-peasant armed occupations" that called for the setting up of revolutionary base areas in the countryside, encircling cities with the rural areas and finally seizing the cities, thus pointing out the only correct road for China's revolutionary war. Applying dialectical materialism and historical materialism to military science, and knowing that

at that time the enemy was strong and the Red Army was weak and small, Chairman Mao stated: "People are the most important condition for the Red Army." Thus he built the confidence in defeating the enemy on the strength of the masses. Bringing into full play the strong points of the Red Army and taking advantage of the enemy's weak points and the contradictions within the enemy's camp, he carried out the line of people's war, and on this basis formulated a set of strategic and tactical principles for the weak to defeat the strong. For instance, he persisted in using guerrilla war and guerrilla mobile war as the main forms of warfare and opposed using regular positional war as the main form. He persisted in active defense and opposed passive defense. He persisted in a strategically protracted war and battles of quick decision but opposed a strategic war of quick decision and a protracted campaign. He persisted in the campaign tactic of defeating a smaller force with a larger force, and in the principle: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue" in conducting guerrilla warfare. And so on and so forth. These strategic and tactical principles which Chairman Mao summed up and formulated in the practice of China's revolutionary war are the quintessence of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the reality of the Chinese revolution. They shine with the radiance of Marxist materialist dialectics. They reflect the dauntless proletarian revolutionary spirit of fearing no hardships and of being capable of defeating a stronger enemy. They also reflect the proletariat's scientific approach of taking difficulties seriously and of seeking truth from facts. They oppose the "Left"-deviating adventurist practice of underestimating the enemy as well as the Right-deviating conservative idea of fearing the enemy.

Diametrically opposed to the unity of theory and reality and the unity of the subjective and the objective consistently advocated by Chairman Mao is the separation of the subjective from the objective and of theory from reality, which marks the ideological characteristics of all opportunist lines. Past opportunist lines in the Party, either Right or "Left", originated from this idealist ideological principle. Lin Piao's bourgeois political military lines also originated from this principle.

In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," while criticizing Wang Ming's opportunist line, Chairman Mao also made a sharp criticism of Lin Piao's anti-Marxist theory and practice. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Because some people among the comrades from Chingkangshan--a border area between Hunan and Kiangsi provinces--raised the question 'how long will the red flag fly after all?' not long after the guerrilla war broke out during the winter of 1927 and the spring of 1928, we have taken up this question (the first congress of the Party in the Hunan-Kiangsi border area). Since this is a most fundamental question, we cannot go a step further without solving the question of China's revolutionary bases and of whether the Red Army will exist and develop." The "some people" mentioned by Chairman Mao here first of all meant Lin Piao, who doubted "a single spark can start a prairie fire." Reviewing this period of history exposes Lin Piao's mistakes in political and military lines and demonstrates that our Party's differences with Lin Piao were centered on the most fundamental question of the revolution. At that time China was gripped by the white terror after the defeat of the great revolution. A serious problem facing the people was whether the Chinese revolutionary base areas

and the Chinese Red Army could continue to exist and develop. This was surely the "most fundamental" question concerning whether revolution was needed and whether it could be carried out. To this question, Lin Piao's answer was pessimistic and negative. He did not believe that a Red regime, surrounded by a white regime, could exist. He lamented "how long will the red flag fly after all?" He maintained that the arduous work of building a Red government was "futile," opposed Chairman Mao's plan to take Kiangsi in order to expand the revolutionary base areas, and advocated instead handy "roving guerrilla activities," thus totally relinquishing the basic task of building revolutionary base areas. Lin Piao's military line was a Right opportunist line to abolish the revolutionary base areas and to undermine the Red Army's existence and development. It was an erroneous line that gave away China's revolution. This was a big exposure of Lin Piao's idealist, metaphysical and reactionary world outlook. As Chairman Mao pointed out in "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," a long letter criticizing Lin Piao, this method of thinking was a subjective view that "seized on the appearance and brushed aside the essence," and this kind of theory "does not accord with the actual state of the Chinese revolution." This was the essence of Lin Piao's erroneous anti-Marxist ideological and political line. He was frightened by the white terror. He saw only the ferocious appearance of the enemy. He failed to see the special characteristic of China being a semi-colonial country for which imperialist powers were contending and in which feudal warlords were fighting each other. He only saw the temporary situation of the greatly weakened revolutionary strength after the defeat of the revolution but failed to see that a single spark could start a prairie fire. Therefore, proceeding from an idealist evaluation of the current situation, he took the defeatist path of abolishing the revolution.

Lin Piao did not accept Chairman Mao's criticism and education, however. Instead, he feigned compliance but obstinately upheld his reactionary world outlook, thus bogging himself down deeper and deeper in the quagmire of opportunism. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, he closely followed Wang Ming, practiced idealist transcendentalism, refused to recognize the special characteristics of the Chinese revolutionary war, applied the foreigners' experience wholly and mechanically, and totally negated Chairman Mao's proletarian political and military line, which had been proved to be entirely correct in struggle. Shortly after the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" began, he sent three telegrams and two letters to the Military Commission, insisting on dividing the forces for defense and making short swift thrusts. He also wrote "On Short Swift Thrusts" to peddle his sinister anti-Party trash. He frenziedly stated: "This method should not be considered as luring the enemy in deep. It must be understood that the method of luring the enemy in deep...is no longer a reliable and effective method." It was obvious that Lin Piao's tactics of dividing the forces for defense and making short swift thrusts were designed to counter Chairman Mao's strategic and tactical principles openly and directly. They were the products of Wang Ming's line, a hodgepodge of military conservatism and adventurism, idealist nonsense in total disregard of the reality of China's revolutionary war. In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Chairman Mao, hitting the nail on the head, exposed the essence of Wang Ming's erroneous line, pointing out: "Without a doubt these theories and practices were all wrong. They were

nothing but subjectivism." Such subjectivist theories and practices of Wang Ming's line "did not have the slightest flavor of Marxism about them; indeed they were anti-Marxist."

By the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Lin Piao, paying no attention to Chiang Kai-shek's use of another man's knife to kill, opposed Chairman Mao's strategic policy of conducting "guerrilla warfare in the mountain areas with independence and initiative held in our hands" and wanted to use the main forces to directly coordinate with the Kuomintang forces. During the period of the Liberation War, Lin Piao still proceeded from his subjective idealism. He overestimated the enemy's strength and underestimated the strength of the people. He avoided fighting passively and opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian military line. Particularly during the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns, Lin Piao always refused to obey orders and commands at crucial moments and on crucial issues, and undermined Chairman Mao's strategic policy and specific deployments. After liberation, in every major line struggle, Lin Piao always joined the anti-Party and anti-socialist gangs overtly and covertly. He always played double-dealing tricks and used false appearance to deceive the Party and the people. At the second plenary session of the 9th Party Central Committee, Lin Piao blatantly dished out the theory of "innate genius," the trash of idealist transcendentalism that had been repeatedly criticized by Chairman Mao, as his anti-Party theoretical program. Launching a surprise attack, he unleashed a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. After this coup d'etat was crushed by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, he immediately concocted the "Outline of 'Project 571'" and launched a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao, sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. But the development of things always runs counter to the subjective wishes of the reactionaries. Lin Piao's plot was mercilessly crushed and he perished in an explosion. This was a total exposure and bankruptcy of Lin Piao's bourgeois idealist world outlook.

When we look at Lin Piao's deeds over the past decades, we see clearly that his bourgeois military line was totally against Marxism and the fundamental law of the Chinese revolution and was nothing but idealist and metaphysical trash. "The idealist and mechanical trend on the question of war is the source of all erroneous ideas in the theory of knowledge." The struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line was reflected in the theory of knowledge as a struggle between materialism and idealism and between dialectics and metaphysics. In other words, it is a struggle between unity of theory and reality and separation of theory from reality.

In view of the serious danger brought to the Party and the revolution by the opportunist line, Chairman Mao, in "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," elucidated in all respects the importance of unity between theory and reality and unity between the subjective and the objective. He also clearly explained the major question of principle that "the important thing is to be good at learning." Are we good at learning or are we upholding unity between theory and reality? This is a

question concerning practicing Marxism or revisionism, and the key to the success or failure of our revolutionary cause. If we combine theory with reality, our revolutionary cause will develop and triumph; if not, it will be frustrated and fail. This has been proved time and again by the history of the Chinese revolution and of the international communist movement. Once the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has been integrated with the concrete practice of Chinese revolution, it will become the Chinese people's ever-winning weapon and will transform the outlook of the Chinese revolution. Therefore, our Party regards unity between theory and reality as the Party's consistent ideological principle, and as a mark to distinguish Marxism from revisionism. As to all Communists and revolutionaries, only by upholding the unity between theory and reality can they profoundly understand and consciously implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, recognize such swindlers of sham Marxism as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, resist the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, continue to raise their political-theoretical level, class consciousness and working ability, and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just because the principle of unity between theory and reality is so important to the proletarian revolutionary cause, it has been frenziedly opposed and undermined by such opportunists as Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Taking the reactionary class stand, they not only engaged themselves in divorcing theory from reality, but also vigorously advertised the reactionary idealist transcendentalism of divorcing theory from reality, undermined the Party's traditional style of work, and poisoned our youth and people. As Chairman Mao said in "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," the theories and practices of Wang Ming and Lin Piao were wrong. "They called themselves Marxist-Leninists, but actually they had not learned an iota of Marxism-Leninism." Their subjective idealist stuff had completely violated the objective laws of social development, and since it was rejected by the people, it was naturally doomed to total bankruptcy.

In the course of socialist revolution and construction, we must strive to study and implement Chairman Mao's instruction on unity between theory and reality, taking it as an important subject in upholding the three basic principles--"practice Marxism, not revisionism; unite, don't split; be open and aboveboard, don't conspire and intrigue." To genuinely master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we must, by linking theory with practice, correctly explain and resolve the various problems in socialist revolution and construction. To achieve unity between theory and reality is not a natural process, but a process of continuing to study and practice and of transforming ourselves. To do this, we must follow Chairman Mao's instructions "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism" and "learn warfare from warfare," assiduously study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works in the three great revolutionary movements, persist in conducting in-depth investigations and study, and remold our world outlook consciously. Through criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we have extensively promoted the integration of theory with reality, but we still have shortcomings in this respect. There is still more or less a problem of some cadres not studying seriously or not persisting in studying and not going among the masses to conduct meticulous investigations and study. Some comrades, when handling routine matters, have sometimes forgotten the Party's basic line and policies. Some of our comrades are still not good at achieving unity between the subjective and the objective and between theory and reality

through summing up experience. Eight years have passed since the great proletarian cultural revolution began. Both the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have gained great victories. Experiences, both positive and negative, during these 8 years have been abundant, and Chairman Mao has made a general summation of them. The vast numbers of revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary masses should therefore regard these experiences as a precious asset for guiding their actions and should never forget them. We should conscientiously study the materialist dialectics used in "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" in analyzing problems, use the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to concretely analyze and solve practical problems in socialist revolution and construction, implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies in all our work in a down-to-earth manner, and implement the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in all grassroot units in order to consolidate and develop the great achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the excellent situation in revolution and production.

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Correctly Understand the Development of Things by Stages

- Some understanding from studying "On Contradiction"

by

Kao Li (高黎)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1975)

In his brilliant philosophical work "On Contradiction," Chairman Mao gives us an all-embracing and deep exposition on the laws of contradictions in things. After an analysis of the universality of contradictions, he dwells with emphasis upon the particularity of contradictions. In doing so, he points out that one of the important questions is to study the characteristics of things in each stage or phase of their development and to understand and grasp the stages which mark the development of things. A serious study of this philosophical thought of Chairman Mao's is of vital significance in guiding revolutionary practice.

All things develop in stages, not by design but by the cause of the movement of opposites within things. The law of the unity of opposites is a fundamental law of the universe. The unity and struggle between opposites within a thing give impetus to its motion and change, thus forming a process of its development. The fundamental contradiction within a thing determines the nature of the process of its development. The question is: Why a long process is marked by stages? Chairman Mao gives us a detailed answer: "The fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by this fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is completed; but in a lengthy process the conditions usually differ at each stage. The reason is that, although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intensified as it passes from one stage to another in the lengthy process. In addition, among the numerous major and minor contradictions which are determined or influenced by the fundamental contradiction, some become intensified, some are temporarily or partially resolved or mitigated, and some new ones emerge; hence the process is marked by stages." This is precisely why in revolutionary struggle we should study not only the basic contradiction of the entire historical period but also the development and change of the many major and minor contradictions that are governed and influenced by this basic contradiction. This means that we should study the particularity of each stage of development and be good at identifying the different stages of development in a revolution. Only thus can we correctly handle the contradictions in things and push the revolution forward incessantly.

Chairman Mao says: "There are two states of motion in all things, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change." He adds: "Things are constantly transforming themselves from the first into the second state of motion; the struggle of opposites goes on in both states but the contradiction is resolved through the second state." Since the stages of development of things result from the movement of contradictions, studying the two states of motion and their transformation and learning how these contradictions

arise, develop, and are resolved is most essential to understanding and grasping the stages of development of things.

In their development, all things undergo the transformation from quantitative change to qualitative change, including certain partial qualitative changes. The two states of motion resulting from the struggle between the two opposite elements of contradiction within a thing reflect the objective law of development in which all things first undergo the transformation from quantitative change to partial qualitative change and then to total qualitative change. The development and change of things invariably begins with quantitative changes and ends in total qualitative change through continuing quantitative and certain partial changes. At the beginning of this process of transformation, the two contradictory elements undergo quantitative changes only. As there is no qualitative change at this stage, things still preserve their own relative qualitative stability and appear to be at rest. As the struggle between two opposites grows more and more acute, quantitative changes arrive at a certain point when their features change conspicuously. Through a state of conspicuous change, the contradictions that need to be resolved at this stage are then resolved and a state of relative rest again appears. On the basis of a new quality, there begins a new process of transformation from quantitative to qualitative change, with the development of things entering upon a new stage.

Our revolutionary struggle also develops in alternating transformations between relative rest and conspicuous change. When class antagonism sharpens to an acute point, a great change in society follows. This point of development is marked by conspicuous changes. Class struggle before and after this point is invariably marked by a period of relative stability. This is because the opposing sides of the struggle must go through tortuous and repeated trials of strength when the balance of strength between classes change. The ups and downs of class struggle and periods of relaxation and tension, order and disorder fully reflect the alternation between these two states of motion. This is an objective law independent of man's will. The revolutionary task of the proletariat, aimed at eradicating all systems of exploitation and all classes, can be finally completed only through the alternation between these two states of motion and continuous leaps from quantitative to qualitative changes.

The mutual transformation of these two states is motion marked by the transformation of an old quality to a new quality and rise from a lower to a higher level in the process of development of things. Though they may often appear to be similarities, the new state of relative rest is by no means a mere repetition of the old one, for each state has its own qualitative distinction. Such is also true of the new state of conspicuous change in relation to the preceding one. With each transformation, things ascend from a lower to a higher stage of development. Thus it follows that the transformation from a state of relative rest into a state of conspicuous change is at once a step forward and a development, and vice versa. Both states of motion in the movement of opposites are waves of progression and links of development. In no way should we look upon the state of relative rest appearing after a state of conspicuous change as one of

stagnation, much less a state in which contradiction and struggle cease to exist. If we deal with the state of relative rest not from the viewpoint of development but from the viewpoint of stagnation, we will fail to understand things correctly and fail to recognize the dialectical relations between the general trends of development of things and the twists and turns in the course of advance. This is erroneous in theory and harmful in practice.

Chairman Mao says: "Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the law of the objective world so as to be able to explain it, but rather in applying the knowledge of the laws actively to change the world." In studying the two states of motion and their mutual transformation in the motion of things, we should analyze the different characteristics and forms of the cardinal contradiction in each stage of development and also analyze the particular contradictions arising in each phase in the lengthy process of development of things. The sole purpose of doing so is to find a correct way to resolve contradictions in different phases and states of motion so as to resolve step by step the fundamental contradiction in the entire process of development. We are Marxist-Leninists who uphold the theory of uninterrupted revolution, and we have always regarded the proletarian revolutionary cause as an uninterrupted process of development. When the revolutionary struggle moves forward, we must try to adapt our thoughts and actions to the development of objective conditions and must not remain in the old stage. At the same time, we are Marxist-Leninists who uphold the theory that revolution develops in stages. Therefore, in the course of continuous development of revolutionary struggle, we must give constant attention to the different characteristics of different phases of development and resolve different contradictions through different means without ignoring current realities. In revolutionary practice, we must firmly adhere to the Marxist-Leninist principle combining the theory of uninterrupted revolution and that of development of revolution by stages before we can go on winning new victories. Our Party's line, principles and policies are all formulated by our great leader Chairman Mao on the basis of the objective laws of development of things and a scientific analysis of the different class contradictions and class struggle situations in various periods and stages of development, fully embodying the idea of integrating the theory of uninterrupted revolution and that of development of revolution by stages. Therefore, the only way to be able to carry out the Party's line, principles and policies correctly and to accomplish anything in our work is to seriously study the objective laws governing the movement of contradiction in things, find out the differences and relations between the various stages of development, and learn about the two states of motion and their reciprocal transformation so as to adapt our subjective views to the objective conditions. If our subjective knowledge does not agree with the objective facts, we will depart from the Party's line, principles and policies, will not be able to handle any contradiction correctly, and will even commit mistakes that may cause harm to our work.

Many times in the history of our Party there have occurred "Left" and Right opportunist lines, which "are characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective and separation of knowledge from practice." Owing to their reactionary world outlook and methodology, opportunists within the Party do not and can not understand Marxist philosophy, and they

can never integrate the subjective with the objective. The "Left" opportunists become adventuristic in action when their thoughts surpass a certain stage of development of the objective process. The Right opportunists are diehards within the revolutionary ranks; they deny that the struggle between opposites has pushed the objective process to a new stage, and their knowledge still remains in the old stage. Hence, they desperately try to turn back the wheel of history. Lin Piao, the renegade and traitor, was such a diehard taking a perverse course. He pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the essence of which is ultra-Right. Following in the footsteps of Confucius and raising the battered banner of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," he launched a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat in a vain attempt to turn the socialist new China back into the semi-colonial, semi-feudal old China. His reactionary thoughts and conspiratorial activities were completely contrary to the objective laws of development of things, and were therefore doomed to ignominious defeat. Opportunist chieftains within the Party, particularly Lin Piao, a teacher by negative example, have given us excellent lessons in philosophy. Through the current criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we must make a more fruitful study of materialism and dialectics, try to make the subjective correspond with the objective, and handle everything strictly in accordance with the objective laws of development of things.

From first to last, the development of things is the movement of contradictions. However, only one contradiction plays the principal and decisive role in this process. By carefully observing the development and changes of this principal contradiction, we can distinguish the different states and stages in the development of contradictions. The main contradiction in our country during the socialist period is that between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, a fact which cannot be changed. To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and to firmly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is aimed at resolving this principal contradiction. This is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road assume different forms in different stages of development. The line struggle within the Party is a reflection of class struggle in society within the Party. Since the founding of the People's Republic, our Party has experienced four major line struggles, all reflecting the principal contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but each having its own form of expression and its own process of emergence, development and solution as well as a process of transformation from a state of relative rest to a state of conspicuous change. Through violent struggle, the attacks by the revisionist chieftains were smashed, and the contradictions in this struggle were resolved. A state of conspicuous change was transformed back into a state of relative rest, marking a new stage in the development of things. It is obvious then that only by making a concrete analysis of the development and changes of contradictions, particularly the principal one, can we grasp the essence of the problem in the midst of the intricate and complex contradictions. "The concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism." We must firmly adhere to this Marxist method of scientific analysis.

Chairman Mao points out: "Contradiction is universal and absolute, it is present in the process of development of all things and permeates every process from beginning to end." The unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and relative, but the struggle of opposites is absolute. The state of relative rest and the state of conspicuous change in the movement of contradiction are different forms of expression of the mutual struggle between two contradictory factors contained in things. This is a question of different forms of expression of struggle, and not of whether contradictions exist at all. We must never regard the mutual transformation of the two states of motion in things as the alternation between struggle and non-struggle. There is no such thing as "a state without differences" in the world. Differences are contradictions. During times of conspicuous change, we must of course see the struggle, but in times of relative rest, we also must not forget struggle. It is necessary to guard against one tendency covering up another. The Party's basic line tells us that the socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In this period, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must fully understand the protracted and complex nature of class and line struggles in the socialist period. We should at all times and in all circumstances firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line and analyze the political situation and class relations from the viewpoint of class and class struggle. We should remain sober and alert, hold fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat and persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It has been eight years since the advent of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the past eight years, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole nation have smashed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, frustrated their attempts to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, and won resounding victories. "The whole world must undergo great disorder in order to establish great order." This has exactly been a process we have been going through. The whole Party, the whole army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have greatly strengthened their unity. The situation is excellent. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is deepening. Some backward units have turned into advanced ones. A new atmosphere has appeared in the whole nation. All this conforms to the law of development. This situation is exceedingly favorable to us in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must redouble our efforts in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, continue to criticize and repudiate Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, seriously sum up the experience of class and line struggles, sum up the experience in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must unite with all forces that can be united with, improve our work in all fields to a greater extent, further consolidate and develop our current excellent situation, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

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Expose the Pro-Confucian and Anti-Legalist Nature of the "Theory of Concessive Policy"

by

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Following the deepening of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, a broad study of the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole has been unfolded among us workers. During the study of the class struggle in the Ch'in-Han period, some comrades raised the following question: the "theory of concessive policy" advocates described the policy of Liu Pang who pursued the Legalist line as a "policy of concession" to the peasants. Where did they go wrong? And how can we draw a line of distinction with such a reactionary "theory of concessive policy" while correctly evaluating the progressive nature of the Legalist school? In order to answer these questions, the comrades of our group delved into such historical materials as "Historical Records [Shih Chi]" and "History of Han [Han Shu]," and conducted an analysis with the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method. We compiled and wrote a lecture and delivered it many times among the worker masses. Through a specific analysis of the Legalist line and policies carried out by Liu Pang and others in the early Western Han period, we exposed the pro-Confucian and anti-Legalist nature of the reactionary "theory of concessive policy."

Advocates of the "theory of concessive policy" took Liu Pang's "abolition of Ch'in's harsh laws" as a major basis for the adoption of a "concessive policy" by the feudal ruling classes toward the peasants. This was distortion of historical truth from the Confucian viewpoint.

What does it mean by the "abolition of Ch'in's harsh laws"? That was a policy announced by Liu Pang after he marched into Hsienyang, capital of Ch'in, in 206 B.C. At a meeting of "elders" convened in Pashang, Liu Pang declared: "You elders have suffered long enough from Ch'in's harsh laws. Those who were supposed to spread rumors against the State were slaughtered together with their families; those who were heard to have made seditious remarks were killed and their bodies hung in public places. I made a pact with the princes to let the one who was the first to march into Kuanchung be the king. And now I must be the ruler of Kuanchung. I now make a pact with you elders: those who kill shall die, and those who injure others and steal shall pay for it. I must do away with the laws of Ch'in." ("Chronicles of Emperor Kao, History of Han") This was how Liu Pang's "pact" and "abolition of Ch'in's harsh laws" came about. But a concrete analysis of the situation of class struggle at that time and the content of this policy will show that it was no "concessive policy" toward the peasants at all. In the last days of Ch'in, the newly emerging landlord class and the peasantry, starting from different class interests, joined the struggle to overthrow Chao Kao and the Second Emperor of Ch'in and smashed the short-lived Chao

the coup d'etat. Subsequently, Liu Pang emerged as the political representative of the landlord class, but he had to speak in the name of a "representative of the interests of the whole people" if he were to overthrow the rule of Chao Kao and the Second Emperor of Ch'in. Thus it was merely a kind of gesture when he said that "the elders have suffered long enough from Ch'in's laws" and "I must do away with the laws of Ch'in." Liu Pang's "pact" was clearly intended to warn people not to oppose or sabotage his landlord class dictatorship; it was as much directed at the restorationist forces of the slave-owners as it was at the peasants. For the sake of expanding the base of his landlord class regime, after his entry into Kuanchung, Liu Pang adopted a protective policy toward Tzu Ying, the King of Ch'in, who surrendered voluntarily and the landlord class in Kuanchung in order to gain the latter's approval and support. There was no "concession" at all from the landlord class to the peasants!

Advocates of the "theory of concessive policy" closed their eyes and refused to acknowledge the historical facts of "Han's adoption of Ch'in's systems," but distorted them by using Liu Pang's remark about "doing away with Ch'in's harsh laws." This is not strange because they looked at the "abolition of Ch'in's harsh laws" from the Confucian viewpoint opposing Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line and "the burning of books and the burying of Confucian scholars alive." They described all the necessary measures taken by Ch'in Shih Huang to crush the restorationist activities of the slave-owners as "harsh laws" and described these "harsh laws" as all directed at the peasants. Thus they said that Liu Pang's "concession" to the peasants was abolition of Ch'in Shih Huang's laws. But facts point to the opposite direction. Liu Pang played a progressive role in history precisely because he took over Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line and policies. After Hsiao Ho entered Hsienyang, he "collected and kept the statute books of the prime minister and the minister of justice of Ch'in." ("Prime Minister Hsiao, Historical Records") The laws of the Han Dynasty were generally based on the laws of Ch'in. The nine chapters of "Han Laws" drafted by Hsiao Ho on the instruction of Liu Pang basically preserved the features of the six chapters of "Ch'in Laws." "Ch'in Laws" constituted the main content of Ch'in Shih Huang's laws; it was a powerful means of consolidating the feudal state of centralized power and an important instrument for curbing the restorationist forces of the slave-owners. The spearhead of Ch'in Shih Huang's laws was directed mainly at the restorationist forces of the slave-owning class, but they were the laws of the landlord class and, as such, were a tool for the landlord class to oppress the peasants. When Liu Pang ordered Hsiao Ho to copy those laws of Ch'in which were "suited to the time," he obviously referred to those laws that could protect the landlord class, curb the restorationist forces of the slave-owners and oppress the peasantry. This being the case, how can we say that Liu Pang adopted a "policy of concession" toward the peasants after he took over Ch'in Shih Huang's laws?

The trumpeters of the "theory of concessive policy" also took as another piece of evidence for the feudal ruling class' adoption of a "concessive policy" toward the peasants Liu Pang's decision to "reduce labor service and taxation." This likewise is at variance with historical facts.

When Liu Pang founded the Western Han Dynasty, he took over a land of woes as Chao Kao's restorationist activities had gravely undermined the feudal economic foundation. At that time, as depicted by the "Treatise of Agriculture, History of Han," "When Han rose, it took over Ch'in's ills. Princes rebelled, people were unemployed, and famine was widespread. Since there was not enough food to go around, people ate human flesh, and over half of the population perished." What a scene of misery and desolation! "When the world was pacified, the people had no longer anything to hide; the Son of Heaven could not afford fine horses, and the generals and ministers could only drive in cattle-drawn carts." "The people had no longer anything to hide" meant that the broad masses of peasants did not have anything to be taken away from them. Furthermore, even the emperor could not afford to have a carriage drawn by four horses of the same color, and the generals and ministers could only drive in carts pulled by oxen. This sufficed to show that the Western Han Dynasty was in an extreme economic plight at that time. It was under such historical conditions that Liu Pang promulgated a series of economic policies designed to advance the development of agricultural production. Among these, one was to "reduce ground rents and to group five families together and tax them as if they were one." ("Treatise of Agriculture, History of Han")

Was the "reduction of ground rents" a "concession" to the peasants? Certainly not. Chairman Mao says: "The feudal ruling classes--landlords, aristocrats and emperors--owned most land, while the peasants had little or no land." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") Thus, as far as the masses of peasants who had little or no land were concerned, their economic status as the exploited would not change because of "tax reduction." At that time, the one that got the real benefit was the landlord class which owned most of the land. While announcing his "taxation" policy, Liu Pang stipulated that princes and officials at all levels in various places should not draw their emoluments "from the funds of the Son of Heaven" and that they "should live on the taxes they themselves have collected." ("Treatise of Agriculture, History of Han") This means that ultimately they had to squeeze the peasants for their living. Thus the trick was played: the feudal state made up for its loss due to a reduction of taxation from the landlord class by imposing heavier taxation on the peasants. Therefore, by nature the policy of "grouping five families together and taxing them as if they were one" merely made some adjustments in the proportions of exploitation within the landlord class, and it was a policy for handling the relationship between the landlord class and the feudal state. Since the peasants' actual burden was not lightened in any way because of "ground rent reduction," how is it possible to describe it as a "policy of concession" to the peasants?

If we look at a problem from the viewpoint of class struggle, we see that in developing the economy, every class invariably first takes its own political interests into account. Liu Pang's purpose in taking a great number of measures to rehabilitate and develop the feudal economy was to safeguard the feudal relations of production and to consolidate the landlord class political power, and definitely not to benefit the peasants. His adherence to the Legalist line and policies advanced the

development of agricultural production to a certain extent--this was a progressive step in history. But the result was only to consolidate the feudal economic foundation to enable the landlord class to develop. On this point, even the feudal class historian Hsün Yüeh had to admit: "Abolishing the land tax is a measure to bring about economic prosperity." ("Chronicles of Former Han," Vol. 8) How can the landlord class policy to "bring about economic prosperity" be taken as a "policy of concession" to the peasants?

Since the "theory of concessive policy" cannot be established, what can one say about the "Wen-Ching order"?

In the early period of Western Han, Emperor Wen, Liu Heng, and Emperor Ching, Liu Ch'i, had ruled for nearly 40 years successively, and in history this was called the "Wen-Ching order." Indeed, this was a period marked by relative stability of the Han landlord class regime and development of production. It was described in the "Treatise of Agriculture, History of Han" in these terms: "Everywhere people are well off; the state treasury is filled and there is more money than can be spent. Granaries are overfilled with grain; some grain has become mildewed." While one cannot believe in all these words, they more or less show that during the nearly 40 years of rule of Wen-Ching, agricultural production had developed at a relatively fast rate, with the state having accumulated large quantities of grain and rich funds. How did this situation come about? The primary condition was that peasant uprisings toward the end of Ch'in had dealt destructive blows to the restorationist forces of the slave system, thereby paving the way to victory for the Legalist line carried out by Liu Pang, Empress Lü, Liu Heng and Liu Ch'i. Of course, Emperors Wen and Ching and the Legalists Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o had persevered in a correct political line, consolidated the central administration, gave serious attention to agricultural production, and curbed the reactionary forces working for restoration and division; this had had certain progressive effects. However, all this would have been impossible without the large-scale peasant uprisings in the late Ch'in period.

As a matter of fact, representative characters of the Legalist school had always clearly called for dictatorship and opposed those hypocritical slogans of "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" which served as the ideological foundation for the "theory of concessive policy." Proceeding from consolidating the landlord class dictatorship, they too saw certain phenomena of class conflicts. The "Wen-Ching order" represented "government" by the landlord class, but for the peasants life remained miserable. The well-known Legalist Ch'ao Ts'o had said that although the peasants at the time "toiled tirelessly in the four seasons, enduring the wind and dust in spring, the heat in summer, the rain in autumn and the cold in winter," they nevertheless led a wretched life and had to "pay off their debts by selling their land, wives and children." ("Tzu-chih T'ung-chien," Vol. 15) Even Emperors Wen and Ching had to admit that "people show signs of hunger on their faces" and "people have very little to eat." This suffices to show that the "Wen-Ching order" merely represented the "heyday" of the landlord class built on

the foundation of the peasants' blood and sweat. "As the foundation of the civilized times is the exploitation of one class by another, so their entire development proceeds amid constant contradictions. Every forward step made in production is accompanied by a backward step in the living condition of the exploited classes, namely, the vast majority of the people." (Engels, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State") The "paradise" of the feudal landlord class was built on the backs of the peasants. The landlord class under the "Wen-Ching order" "receives favors from the government, which are extended to three generations," while peasants were "inadequately clothed and fed." Where could one find a "policy of concession" then?

The history of class struggle in the early Western Han period and in the entire Chinese feudal society shows that the peasant class and the landlord class were two major classes locked in a life-and-death battle against each other. Each would never concede to the other. Policy has a class character, the embodiment of the interests of a given class. If there were any landlord class ruler who adopted the "policy of concession" toward the peasants, he would have cancelled at one stroke the class contradiction and class struggle. What Confucius meant when he said that "the benevolent love men" was that love was only to be shown to the slave-owning class, not to slaves and peasants and not to the newly emerging landlord class. The Confucianists were ruthless in suppressing the laboring people. The inventors of the "theory of concessive policy", however, argued that "concessions" could be made between hostile classes. By setting forth such a preposterous theory, they just wanted to abolish revolution, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. In studying the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle, we must criticize this reactionary viewpoint and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Dissected, the "theory of concessive policy" is a kind of pro-Confucian and anti-Legalist theory. The "concessionists" are the "benevolent" who "rule by virtue" and "concede according to propriety." This is the stuff that can be bought from the Confucian shop. Advocates of the "theory of concessive policy" say ludicrously that Liu Pang was the first emperor who adopted the so-called "policy of concession," but actually they put the Confucian hat of "concessions according to propriety" on the head of the Legalist. They distort the political line of the Legalist school as the Confucian line of "concessions according to propriety." They describe the "Wen-Ching order" when the Legalist line was in force as a model of government by "concessions according to propriety," but actually they secretly put the historical merits of the Legalists into the pocket of the Confucians. By resorting to such a dirty trick of replacing the genuine with the fake, they thought they could achieve the purpose of killing three birds with one stone: negating the progressive role of the Legalist school, embellishing the Confucian line, and denying the laboring people as the real motive force in propelling history forward.

From practice we workers have realized that using the Marxist viewpoint in studying the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole is of tremendous significance to consolidating

the dictatorship of the proletariat and forestalling the restoration of capitalism. Historical experience has proved that the anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the landlord-bourgeois classes, in order to achieve their reactionary aims, often find it necessary to utilize, distort and forge history. Both Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were supporters and trumpeters of the "theory of concessive policy." They did their utmost to peddle the Confucian-Mencian contraband such as "forbearance" and "benevolence" and advocated the sinister "self-cultivation" with the object of making the proletariat "concede" to the bourgeois, Marxism to revisionism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to their counter-revolutionary revisionist lines. Their utlimate aim was to restore capitalism and to make the broad masses of workers and peasants suffer for a second time. But we workers have, through studying the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole, arrived at the following conclusion: Class struggle is a life-and-death struggle and the struggle between the two lines leaves no room for compromise. Therefore, we workers are firmly opposed to any "concession" to the reactionary classes, and we will never make any "concession" to revisionism in the various spheres of the superstructure. We must continue to strengthen the overall dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, fight endlessly for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the development of the fruits of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and for carrying the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius through to the very end.

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A Critique of Lin Piao's "On Short Swift Thrust"

by

Chan Li-po (詹立波)

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During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, after our Party had liquidated Li Li-san's "Left" opportunist line, a violent struggle ensued between Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line and Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line. This two-line struggle within the Party was reflected on the question of guidance of war as a struggle between the line of active defense and that of passive defense. At that time Lin Piao was on the side of Wang Ming's wrong line. He first wrote letters and telegrams to the Military Commission and then published his sinister article "On Short Swift Thrust" in support of Wang Ming's line of passive defense. "On Short Swift Thrust" was a concentrated expression of Lin Piao's thinking on passive defense as well as a component part of the bourgeois military line he pushed later on. To make a criticism of "On Short Swift Thrust" is necessary in penetratingly liquidating Lin Piao's bourgeois military line.

"The ten-year history of war by the Red Army is a history of fighting against 'encirclement and suppression'." Shortly after the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army was born, the Kuomintang reactionaries launched against it one military "encirclement and suppression" campaign after another with the forlorn object of destroying the Red Army and the revolutionary base areas. The enemy was the country's ruler, and the Red Army was only a small force at the beginning. Thus, how to preserve our military strength, bide our time to destroy the enemy, smash his "encirclement and suppression," and to develop and expand our own forces became the most urgent problem in revolutionary struggle at that time. Combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and proceeding from the characteristics and laws of China's revolutionary war, Chairman Mao formulated for our Party and Red Army a line of active defense for directing the war as well as correct principles of operations. Under Chairman Mao's direct leadership and guided and influenced by his proletarian military line, the central revolutionary base areas, with "millions of workers and peasants on the move" "sweeping a thousand troops like rolling up a mattress," successively smashed four large-scale "encirclement and suppression" military campaigns by the enemy, and as a result, the Red Army and the revolutionary base areas continued to expand and the revolutionary situation to improve day by day. However, by the time of the 5th counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression," we suffered defeat in the struggle because Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line became predominant in the Party and Chairman Mao's correct line was altered.

In October 1933, the Kuomintang reactionaries gathered more than 500,000 men and launched the 5th "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the central revolutionary base areas. In this campaign, the enemy changed his past tactics of "long drive" and "simultaneous advance and long pursuit" and adopted the strategy and tactics of gradual advance and building footholds. Faced with the enemy's offensive, Wang Ming pushed a line of passive defense, daring neither to attack the enemy's rear in what was originally an advantageous situation to us nor to boldly lure the enemy in deep and wipe him out then and there. Rather, fearing the enemy like the tiger, he set up defense works everywhere, put up resistance at every turn and proposed to support such passive defense with the so-called tactics of "short swift thrusts." Under the guidance of this wrong line, although the vast numbers of commanders and fighters of the Red Army fought bravely, the anti-"encirclement and suppression" struggle suffered one defeat after another. The vast numbers of commanders and fighters of the Red Army became more and more suspicious and dissatisfied with the so-called "new principles" and "new tactics" boasted by Wang Ming's line. It was under this situation that Lin Piao came forward to support Wang Ming's line and published his sinister article "On Short Swift Thrust," in which he rigged up 26 specific measures for carrying out the so-called "short swift thrusts" and vigorously defended the line of passive defense which was on the brink of bankruptcy. This was historical criminal evidence of Lin Piao's positive subordination to Wang Ming's line in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

What are these so-called "short swift thrusts"? According to Lin Piao's own line of reasoning, these meant that in all cities and towns, centers of population and important mountain tops that lay in the way of the enemy's offensive, defense works should be built and heavily guarded and that "swift, short thrusts" should be launched "against the enemy who comes out from his stronghold to make short-distance (referring to distance of 5-10 li and sometimes even less) push in order to build another stronghold." The gist of Lin Piao's tactics was to publicize the advantages of positional warfare in which a stronghold was pitted against a stronghold, to carry out a protracted war and war of attrition in the form of campaigns and battles against the enemy, and to oppose Chairman Mao's directives concerning the development of mobile warfare and the concentration of forces to fight battles of annihilation. He called for dividing the forces for separate defenses and dealing with the enemy's offensives by the method of "resisting" in opposition to Chairman Mao's principle of luring the enemy in deep. In a word, he was opposed to Chairman Mao's line of active defense.

In face of a strong enemy's offensives, a major difference of opinion between active defense and passive defense is whether to carry out first a strategic retreat, namely, luring the enemy in deep, choose or create conditions that are favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy for subsequent shifting into strategic counter-offensive, and attack and destroy the enemy forces one by one, or to divide our forces for defense and resist the enemy at every turn.

Chairman Mao points out: "A strategic retreat is a planned strategic step taken by an inferior force for the purpose of conserving

its strength and biding its time to defeat the enemy, when it finds itself confronted with a superior force whose offensive it is unable to smash quickly." When the weak and small Red Army adopted in the course of strategic defense the principle of luring the enemy in deep and fought him after he was lured into our area, it was able to compel the enemy to scatter his forces and load him with burdens, while it itself could fully develop the role of the armymen and people in the base areas to beat the enemy everywhere, make him tire and become despondent, cause him to make mistakes and expose his weak points, and to cut down his forces continuously. In this way, our army could concentrate its forces to wait for a tired enemy and destroy him at the first opportunity to begin the strategic counter-offensive. As proved by the experience of the first, second, third and fourth counter-campaigns against "encirclement and suppression" in the central revolutionary base areas, luring the enemy in deep "is the most reliable method of smashing the enemy's attacks." Lin Piao, however, argued that "luring the enemy in deep is no longer a reliable and effective method to deal with an enemy who has suffered successive crushing defeats and has learned countless bloody lessons." He insisted that when the enemy "has already occupied our gateway to our basic Soviet areas" and was applying the "method of fighting cautiously at every step," we should more frequently "adopt the method of making short swift thrusts" to destroy the enemy "in order to fight a decisive battle once and for all." Such so-called "short swift thrusts" aimed exclusively at defending territory could neither compel the enemy to scatter his forces nor fully develop the role of the people in the base areas to place the enemy in a passive and unfavorable position. It could only consume the enemy's forces partially but could not wipe them out by large numbers; it required us to pay a rather high price and could in no way create a situation favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy. It was precisely because Wang Ming and his followers--Lin Piao and others--had consistently divided the forces for defense and kept to short swift thrusts to fight tough battles of "resistence" against the enemy that the entire central revolutionary base areas were lost because of such "resistance."

It was purely based on his own subjective imagination that Lin Piao described the method of luring the enemy in deep as "outdated." Chairman Mao pointed out correctly: In the eyes of the enemy, the Red Army was their main danger. "The enemy's forces always turn their attention to areas where the main forces of the Red Army are located; seldom do they ignore the main forces of the Red Army and turn exclusively on the base areas." As long as the Red Army was not afraid of temporarily losing territory or of breaking the pots and pans but waged flexible warfare, it was entirely possible for it to keep the enemy on the run and smash his strongholds. Moreover, in the 5th "encirclement and suppression" campaign, "it was entirely the Red Army's own resistance at every turn that caused the enemy to adopt the method of fighting from strongholds, advancing for 3-5 li and then pushing for another 8-10 li." Had it not been for Wang Ming's line of resistance at every turn and had the Red Army turned and fought into the interior lines of the enemy when necessary and possible, the enemy could not have held his strongholds and the 5th counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" would have yielded quite different results. In calling the method of luring the enemy in

deep "entrated," Lin Piao merely wanted to make an excuse for supporting Wang Ming's line of passive defense in opposition to Chairman Mao's line of active defense.

In face of a strong enemy's attack, another major difference of opinion between active defense and passive defense is whether to concentrate the forces to wage mobile warfare and warfare of annihilation or to divide the forces to fight positional battles and battles of attrition.

Chairman Mao has always advocated that in campaigns and battles we should concentrate a superior force, choose the enemy's weak points, wipe out the enemy of one route successfully in mobile warfare and then extend the operations to other routes in order to destroy the enemy forces one by one. By carrying out this policy, it will be possible to turn the enemy forces' strategic superiority and initiative over our army into our army's superiority and initiative over the enemy forces in campaigns and battles, to turn the enemy forces' strategic exterior lines and attacks against our army into our army's exterior lines and attacks against the enemy forces in campaigns and battles, to gradually change the situation in which the enemy is superior and we are inferior and the enemy is in an active position and we are in a passive position, and finally to smash the enemy's "encirclement and suppression." In the first, second, third and fourth counter-campaigns against "encirclement and suppression," although the enemy's military forces were several times and even ten times ours, the Red Army by carrying out the correct policy of concentrating forces to wage mobile battles and battles of annihilation, was able every time to destroy the enemy forces in one route or several routes. This upset the enemy's entire plan for "encirclement and suppression" and compelled the rest of the enemy forces to withdraw. In the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression," Lin Piao made every effort to oppose this correct policy laid down by Chairman Mao. Calling for positional warfare and opposing mobile warfare, he said absurdly that in the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" there was "little chance for us to fight massive mobile battles." He insisted that we should send "units with tenacious fighting power" to "defend the position to the death." He favored dividing the forces and opposed concentrating them, saying that "in the defeat of the enemy, the balance of military strength does not become an important factor." He thought that in fighting "there is no need to use an excessively large force." He called for battles of attrition and opposed battles of annihilation, saying that when the enemy was on the attack, "whether he has a rear echelon or not and whether his rear echelon has entirely left the cover of firepower of his stronghold, we should start our thrust without delay." The enforcement of this wrong policy would prevent our army from concentrating its forces in campaigns and battles but would rather cause it to disperse its forces; it would cause it to fight not on the exterior lines but on the interior lines, not to keep the enemy on the run, create the opportune moment to make the enemy fight in our way and wipe him out while he is on the move, but to pit position against position and stronghold against stronghold and passively wage protracted warfare and warfare of attrition in campaigns and battles. Such a stupid method of fighting would have no effect on the Kuomintang army which had massive

military strength; and it was totally unacceptable to the Red Army which operated in small base areas, with limited manpower and material resources and with arms and ammunitions almost entirely taken from the enemy. As Chairman Mao said, such a method of fighting was like comparing the beggar with the king for riches and suited the enemy completely; it "actually helps the enemy to attain his aims."

In the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, what Wang Ming pushed was a "Left" opportunist line. But as Chairman Mao pointed out, this wrong line "stems from the Right viewpoint," "preceded by the 'Left' mistake of under-estimating the enemy." It was related to his political "Left" opportunist line. In guiding the war, Wang Ming first practiced adventurism in attack, and when adventurism failed, he changed to military conservatism and adopted the line of passive defense, setting up defense works everywhere and resisting at every turn. The so-called "short swift thrust" was precisely a concrete expression of Right opportunism, the cause of which was an inadequate assessment of the subjective strength of the revolution in face of an enemy who was ferocious in his appearance. Way back to the early period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Lin Piao had become pessimistic and despondent about the future of the revolution, doubting "how long the red flag will be flying" and showing serious tendencies to the Right politically. His positive support for Wang Ming's line of passive defense during the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppress" represented another relapse of his Right stubborn disease under the new situation.

For his political and military Right-inclined ideas, Lin Piao had been many times severely criticized and patiently educated by Chairman Mao. However, he obstinately clung to the landlord-bourgeois world outlook, and in the various historical periods later on, he always interfered with and sabotaged from the Right Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line in the political field, while militarily he always held passive defense as the magic wand in opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian military line. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he again followed Wang Ming's Right opportunist line and opposed Chairman Mao's strategic policy of "carrying out guerrilla warfare in the mountain areas with independence and initiative held in our hands." He favored fighting large, regular battles in coordination with the Kuomintang, and at the same time, he continued to peddle the sinister stuff of "short swift thrust." During the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, he even more obdurately clung to Right opportunism and dared not concentrate a superior force to fight battles of annihilation. Still carrying out the tactics of "short swift thrust," he dished up the so-called "six tactical principles" based on passive avoidance of battle and with the battle of routing the enemy as the guiding thought, and set them against the strategic general policy and the ten major military principles laid down by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. The above facts show that "short swift thrust" had been consistently advocated by Lin Piao on the question of strategic defense, and that the bourgeois military line he pushed had profound historical causes.

Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the world outlook and methodology of the proletariat; they serve as the theoretical

basis for the proletarian military line. Idealism and mechanism are the world outlook and methodology of the bourgeoisie, and are the ideological source of its military line. The inner-Party struggle between two military lines is an inevitable reflection of the struggle between two lines of knowledge and is also reflected in an acute manner on the question of how to study and direct war. Chairman Mao points out: "Military laws, like laws governing other things, are a reflection of objective reality in our brains; except our brains, everything is objective reality." Those who direct a war can make the subjective correspond with the objective and lead the war to victory only if they correctly understand the objective laws of war. All wars have their similar circumstances and common laws. But each war, due to different conditions, has its own special circumstances and some special laws. China's revolutionary war is conducted under China's special circumstances and has its own specific laws. Therefore, in guiding China's revolutionary war, "we must study not only the laws of war in general, but the specific laws of revolutionary war, and the even more specific laws of revolutionary war in China." Based on the reality of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao made an overall analysis of the political, economic, military and geographical conditions of the enemy and our side, and found the main characteristics of the Second Revolutionary Civil War. From these characteristics he derived the basic laws of China's revolutionary war and on this basis formulated a guideline and a set of strategic and tactical principles for the war. This method adopted by Chairman Mao in studying and guiding war is a shining example of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolutionary war. Lin Piao had boasted that "short swift thrust" emerged from "an analysis of the enemy's strategic and tactical conditions and of the other (various) subjective and objective conditions." This was a fraud. Like Wang Ming, he had never studied the characteristics and laws of China's revolutionary war; instead, he mechanically copied the war experiences of other countries, looked upon "short swift thrust" as a panacea, and aribtrarily made China's revolutionary war adapt to this principle. This was completely contrary to the actual circumstances of China's revolutionary war and went against its laws.

The enemy was powerful and the Red Army was small and weak--this was an acute contradiction in the Second Revolutionary Civil War. How to create the conditions to make this contradiction change in a direction favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy and to alter the situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak--this was a problem those directing the war had to solve. Chairman Mao's policy of concentrating forces in the course of strategic defense to destroy the enemy forces one by one while keeping them on the run was formulated with a view to enabling the Red Army to smash the enemy's attacks and wipe out the invading enemy under the then situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak. It dialectically integrated protracted battles of defense on the strategic interior lines with offensive battles of quick decision on the exterior lines in campaigns and battles. The practice proves that this was the only correct policy for turning a strong enemy into a weak one, for turning ourselves from weak to strong, and for winning the victory in the counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression." But Wang Ming and Lin Piao not only ignored the objective fact that the enemy was strong and

we were weak, but also failed to understand that offensive battles of quick decision on the exterior lines in campaigns and battles constituted an effective policy for changing the balance of forces in our favor on the battlefield. They set offense absolutely against defense and advance against retreat. When they talked about offense, they did not discuss defense; when they talked about defense, they did not mention offense. With "short swift thrust" as its important form of expression, the line of passive defense was a product of their idealism and mechanism. As Chairman Mao points out, "they were the theories and practices of hotheads and ignoramuses; they did not have the slightest flavor of Marxism about them; indeed they were anti-Marxist."

A revolutionary war is a war of the masses. In China's revolutionary war we could defeat the enemy many times stronger than we were only by fully mobilizing and relying on the strength of the vast masses of the Chinese people and carrying out a people's war. Chairman Mao's line and strategic and tactical principles for the guidance of war were based on the people's war. When dealing with the experience of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao pointed out that the Red Army "is able frequently to win battles with a weak and small force largely because it depends on the masses who have been organized and armed." Wang Ming and Lin Piao were historical idealists who neither trusted the people nor relied on them. "Short swift thrust" was in fact aimed purely at replacing people's war with the so-called "regular" war conducted by the main forces of the Red Army, at entirely negating the role of the people's armed forces and the masses of the people, and at abolishing the basic conditions on which the Red Army depended in defeating the enemy. This was the inevitable reflection on the military question of the idealist conception of history upheld by Wang Ming, Lin Piao and others; it was also an important cause of the failure of the 5th counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression."

The Second Revolutionary Civil War went through a tortuous course of development. When Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line was in force, the Workers and Peasants Red Army and the revolutionary base areas grew from nothing and developed from small to big, and the revolutionary situation, like a spark setting off a prairie fire, developed vehemently. When Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line was predominant, the Red Army and the revolutionary base areas were greatly weakened. The well-known Tsun-i Conference held in January 1935 put an end to the domination of Wang Ming's line in the Party and established Chairman Mao's leadership in the whole Party and once again shifted the Party line to the correct orbit of Marxism-Leninism. This was again followed by a new phase of vigorous development in the revolutionary war. The history of the Second Revolutionary Civil War has profoundly proved the unalterable truth that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."

Chairman Mao has always taught us that it is necessary to study the experience of the two-line struggle in history in order to make it serve the current class and line struggles. In his military writings which appeared in various historical periods Chairman Mao has summed up the

experience of the inner-Party struggle between two military lines and conducted a profound criticism of the successive opportunist military lines, aiming largely at Lin Piao's mistakes or mistakes that were identified with people including Lin Piao. In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Chairman Mao's criticism of "dividing forces for defense and short swift thrusts" contained the criticism of Lin Piao's mistakes. Therefore, while penetratingly criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, we must seriously study Chairman Mao's military writings, profoundly comprehend Chairman Mao's great military thinking, and master the sharp weapon of criticism. Only by doing so can we hit the target in criticism, further recognize the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, and more determinedly fight for the defense and execution of Chairman Mao's proletarian military line.

* * *

Advance in the Course of Struggle to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius

by

the Party Branch of Sixth Company of a Certain Unit, Peking Garrison

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

Amid the song of triumph for the great victories of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we greet the advent of 1975, a militant year.

In the past year, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in our company has gained some success with the close solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. The outlook of the company has undergone profound changes. The practice of struggle has made everyone realize that the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a great strategic measure taken by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and guard against capitalist restoration. Through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the comrades have further recognized the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the reactionary nature of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, deepened their understanding of the Party's basic line, and become more conscious of the need to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The company has been permeated with a greater atmosphere of intense reading and studying, both the cadres and fighters have enhanced their Marxist theoretical level, and the theoretical contingent of the company is maturing. The whole company is united as one man in its bitter hatred against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, practicing the techniques of killing the enemy, stepping up preparedness against war, and satisfactorily fulfilling its garrison duties. Everyone says joyously: The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius has yielded solid fruit, our line consciousness has been enhanced, the various tasks have been fulfilled satisfactorily, and the company has completely renewed its outlook.

Looking back over the course of development of the movement in the past year, we realize that in order to develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a broad, deepgoing and sustained manner it is necessary to strengthen Party leadership and fully arouse the rank and file. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is at once an extensive and intensive revolutionary movement in the superstructure, and no victory can be gained without strong Party leadership. Since the movement started, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the unified leadership of the higher Party committee, our Party branch has never stopped deepening its understanding of the major significance of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, consciously putting it above all other work and grasping it well as a matter of top priority. The leading members of the Party branch have not only taken the lead in studying a series of directives issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee concerning the

criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius but have also gone separately to the squads and platoons to give concrete direction to the movement. Together with the rank and file, they have carried out investigation and study, found out the conditions, and proceeded with ideological and educational work in the manner of shooting the arrow at the right target. And in the course of studying, talking and criticizing with the rank and file, they have discovered problems and solved them promptly. To penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, it is necessary to rely on the masses, respect their innovative spirit, and fully muster and display the enthusiasm of the company's cadres and fighters. When the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius began, some comrades did not have a sufficiently clear understanding of the importance of fully arousing the masses. So we promptly organized everyone to study the important directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee concerning the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and Chairman Mao's teachings such as "in doing any work we must unfold a mass movement, without which nothing can be done." This made everyone see that the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Lin Piao was criminally designed to oppose the Party's basic line and the socialist system and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the reactionary and decadent doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were a reactionary ideological weapon for Lin Piao to usurp Party and State power and restore capitalism. We simply cannot rely on a few in carrying out the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius in depth. It is only when we extensively arouse the masses to join in the criticism that we can enable cadres and fighters to see clearly the reactionary nature and danger of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, stamp out their pernicious influence, make a complete rupture with all old traditional concepts, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. After such thinking was enhanced, the Party branch mobilized the cadres and fighters of the whole company to pool together their ideas and efforts in carrying out this movement with success. The Party's relevant principles and policies are directly made known to the masses; Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works are studied and used as instructional material, the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools is studied, and cadres and fighters mount the rostrum; criticism activities are conducted in various forms with commanders and fighters all participating; and the Party branch and the squads and platoons jointly study and decide on the key points of criticism and topics for discussion. In this way, the movement is carried out with greater earnestness and in a lively way.

In order to undermine the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat politically, chieftains of opportunist lines within the Party invariably do their utmost to distort and attack the basic principles of Marxism in the theoretical field. At the same time, they pass off reactionary idealism and metaphysics for Marxism in a wild attempt to cheat and browbeat the masses. The great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism entails the need for the proletariat to step up the building of a contingent of Marxist theorists. For us to do this job well in the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is of the utmost importance in helping the masses to continuously raise their theoretical

level and making the movement develop in a broad, deepgoing and sustained manner. Chairman Mao points out: "If we have only the enthusiasm of the broad masses but do not have an effective leadership backbone to appropriately organize such enthusiasm, then such enthusiasm cannot be sustained, nor can it be channeled to the correct direction or raised to a higher level." Thereupon, the Party branch formed a theoretical group of a dozen comrades selected from the company--comrades who have distinguished themselves in politics and thinking, have a high level of consciousness of the line struggle, do not divorce themselves from the masses, are willing to delve into problems, are mindful of linking theory with reality, have a definite ability to express their views, and have taken the lead in study and criticism. This group was later continuously filled out and expanded. In order to give full scope to their role of "walking in the van of the study, tackling the difficult issues in criticism, serving as the backbone in ideological work and as models in doing assignments," we have at one time and another organized these backbone theorists to study a total of 54 Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and produce a lot of notes on their study. Thus, armed with revolutionary theories, they have grasped the essence in criticism and made their speeches sensible and understandable. Then, in accordance with the principle of using them in the course of struggle and cultivating them while using them, we explained to and instructed them on some difficult problems and helped them solve them while organizing them to join the masses in study and criticism.

In the course of criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line and his crimes in the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns, some comrades asked: Since Confucius was only a scholar and had never been known to have led troops and fought in the battlefield, how can we connect Lin Piao's crimes with Confucius? In view of this, we first helped the backbone theorists to study Lenin's "The State and Revolution" and Chairman Mao's relevant writings and then gave them the necessary instructions, thereby enabling them to understand from the Marxist theory of the state that a particular political line is invariably accompanied by a military line which serves it. Confucius not only pushed a reactionary political line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" but also pushed a reactionary military line of suppressing domestic opposition and capitulating to foreign enemies. He had never been a "teacher of books" who did not concern himself with "military affairs," but a butcher whose hands were stained with the blood of slaves. Although Confucius and Lin Piao lived in different times, both were opposed to revolution and revolutionary just wars, both advocated asinine methods of fighting which could only lead to defeats in war, etc. After hearing these explanations from the backbone theorists, the cadres and fighters remarked: Such an analysis is clear and impresses us rather deeply.

Having the cadres and fighters read and study seriously and arm themselves with Marxist theories is the key to helping them raise their analytical ability and make a success of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. One year of practice has shown that so long as we persist in doing so, we can enable the comrades to tell the correct from the wrong, to know what is Marxist and should be upheld and what is revisionist and should be criticized. This insures that the movement will always develop in breadth and depth. In respect to studying Chairman Mao's military writings, we have spent more than two months seriously reading Chairman Mao's

nine brilliant pieces written in the period of the Liberation War, criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line and his crimes in the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns. The comrades of the whole company have displayed vast enthusiasm in the course of study and criticism and have written a good number of articles on their study and criticism. In dealing with the relations between the Party and the army, there was no misunderstanding of the need to place the army under the absolute leadership of the Party. However, Lin Piao too advocated that "we must carry out those orders we understand as well as those we do not understand." What is the difference between this and Chairman Mao's teaching that we must "obey orders in all your actions"? This was not clear to some comrades. In view of this, we organized everyone to make a serious study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's teachings concerning class analysis and class struggle, and it was then crystal clear that the essence of Lin Piao's fallacies must be exposed by the method of class analysis. Since Lin Piao stood for the interests of the landlord-bourgeois classes, all his fallacies were completely identified with Confucius' theory that "people should be made to do things and should not be told the reasons for doing them." They were intended to fool the masses of the people and strangle their revolutionary spirit. They were designed to turn our army into a "docile tool" for him to restore capitalism, to enable him to "command and mobilize everything," and to serve his reactionary political line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." This was essentially different from Chairman Mao's teaching, "obey orders in all your actions." We obey the command of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the command of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the command of leadership at all levels correctly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This strong Party concept and iron discipline are founded on the basis of a high level of consciousness of class and line struggles; they conform to the basic interests of the proletariat and the masses of the laboring people, and are the fundamental guarantees for our working together to win the victory in revolution. Practice has made the comrades realize: By reading more, we will know more about the truth, make better class analysis, and deepen our criticism.

Although we have achieved some results in struggle, yet judging by the conditions of the company, great efforts are still needed in developing the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a broad, deepgoing and sustained manner and especially in study and criticism. We must go on making profound criticism of Lin Piao's crimes in negating Chairman Mao's basic theory and practice concerning socialist revolution and socialist construction, in negating the great proletarian cultural revolution, in negating the socialist new things, in opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and in restoring capitalism, and the bourgeois military line he pushed. In eliminating the influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and using the Marxist viewpoint to sum up the historical experiences of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole, there also remains a great deal of work to be done. Chairman Mao points out: "All decadent ideologies and other inapplicable parts of the superstructure are disintegrating every day. To thoroughly sweep away this rubbish, time is still needed." The influence of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius can only be eradicated completely through protracted criticism. As some comrades have said, the fact that all the documents on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius have been

studied does not mean that we have fully comprehended them, and the fact that we have criticized the reactionary viewpoint of Lin Piao and Confucius does not mean that its lingering pernicious influence has been totally eliminated and a clear distinction drawn between right and wrong in line. We must continue to fight and will not stop until complete victory is won.

As we look forward to the new year, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius will continue to develop in depth and a new situation will appear in industrial and agricultural production and in other fields of work. The situation is encouraging but is also pressing; the tasks are glorious but are also formidable. In order to keep abreast of the rapidly developing revolutionary situation and to make a greater success of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in our company, we must organize the cadres and fighters of the whole company to exert the utmost efforts in studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, repeatedly studying well such brilliant works as "Critique of the Gotha Program," "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." We must further comprehend the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's theories concerning class struggle, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and expositions on and scientific analysis of imperialism in order to better master the ideological weapon, understand the current situation more clearly, carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, display the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and fight to the very end. We must study the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's theses concerning the need to strengthen the Party spirit and revolutionary unity, criticize the crimes of Lin Piao and his diehard partners in building mountain strongholds, creating factions, opposing the Party's leadership over the army and splitting the Party and the revolutionary ranks. We must wage an uncompromising struggle against all erroneous ideas and practices which adversely affect revolutionary unity and weaken the revolutionary fighting capacity. We must raise and safeguard our consciousness of revolutionary unity in order to implement Chairman Mao's directives and great strategic plan and consolidate and develop the excellent revolutionary situation. We must make a penetrating study of Chairman Mao's military works and military thinking, continue to criticize Lin Piao's bourgeois military line and his crimes of opposing the Party's command over the gun and using bourgeois politics to overshadow and replace proletarian politics. In particular, we must seriously study Chairman Mao's ten major military principles, comprehend and master his idea of fighting battles of annihilation; we must deeply criticize Lin Piao's idealism and mechanism on the question of war and his so-called "six tactical principles." Through study and criticism, we must further step up the building of the company and forever advance along Chairman Mao's line on building the army. In the new year, we must also study the current world capitalist economic crisis, continue to study the history of the struggle between two kinds of military thinking and two military lines--Confucian and Legalist. According to the conditions of the company, we are prepared to organize further study of works such as "Memorial on Military Affairs" and "Memorial on Recruiting People to Strengthen the Frontiers" by Ch'ao Ts'o, the Legalist representative of the Western Han period. These works will be properly analyzed, studied and annotated to serve the current class struggle, so that we may "make the ancient serve the present."

Moreover, we will use the Marxist viewpoint to continue to criticize bad books, bad plays and bad films permeated with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and bourgeois poisons. In the course of struggle, we will continue to foster, expand and build up the revolutionary theoretical contingent in order to make it a backbone force to lead everyone to fight on a protracted basis.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the concern and help of the leadership at higher levels, the cadres and the rank and file of our whole company have the confidence and the determination to redouble their efforts to make a greater success of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and use it to propel the preparations against war and other work and to raise the building of the company to a still higher level!

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Why Is Hsün Tzu Said to Be a Legalist?

by

T'ang Hsiao-wen (唐晓文)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

Hsün Tzu (circa 312 B.C.-238 B.C.) was an outstanding Legalist. The book "Hsün Tzu" fully reflects his Legalist thinking. During the crucial moment of big social change in the late Warring States period, he stood in the van of the times creating public opinion in a big way for the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system. "He was a man who was most adept at establishing the truth and dispelling falsehood, dwelling on the past and present." (Yang Ching, "Preface to Annotations of Hsün Tzu") He laid a profound theoretical foundation for the Legalist line and gave expression to the vigorous militant spirit of the emerging landlord class.

But for more than two thousand years, Hsün Tzu was consistently attacked and vilified by reactionaries in history. Chu Hsi, the influential Confucian scholar of the Sung dynasty, directly assailed Hsün Tzu for "deriving his teachings from a mixture of the ideas of Shen Pu-hai and Shang Yang" ("Collected Works of Chu Tzu") and for "not knowing the truth." ("Chu Tzu's Classified Conversations") Su Shih slandered him as "being fond of teaching heretical doctrines and unrealistic theories without regard for the consequences," ("On Hsün Ch'ing, Collected Literary Writings of Su Shih) regarding his ideas as "heretical" and "perverse doctrines." In the T'ang dynasty the Confucius worshipper Han Yü even went so far as to adopt Confucius' method of expunging books and "revised the inapplicable parts of Hsün's doctrines" before "including his books among the books of the sages," ("Reading Hsün, Collected Writings of Mr. Ch'ang Li") thereby putting Hsün Tzu in the Confucian camp headed by Confucius. The purpose of their doing so was to meet the needs of the reactionary ruling classes to worship Confucianism and oppose the Legalist school, to negate the revolutionary role played by Hsün Tzu in the struggle against the slave system, and to weaken and stop the influence of his progressive thinking. Today, for us to use the Marxist method of class analysis to study Hsün Tzu and his thinking, to correctly appraise his historical position and role and to restore his original Legalist features is of tremendous significance in penetratingly studying and summing up the historical experience of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole as well as in further criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and Lin Piao's revisionist line.

I.

It was not by chance that Hsün Tzu became an outstanding Legalist thinker. This was dictated by the objective requirements of historical development, an inevitable result of the violent struggle between the emerging landlord class and the declining slave-owning class in the Warring States period.

The Warring States period, described as "a period of big social change in ancient and contemporary times," (Wang Fu-chih, "On Reading the General Outline History of China") was a period of transition from the slave system to the feudal system in our country. Beginning from the early days of the Warring States period, propelled by the slave uprisings and struggles by the common people, the vassal states--including Wei, Han, Chao, Ch'i, Ch'u and Ch'in--effected in varying degrees the transition from the slave system to the feudal system one after the other. But although the emerging landlord class had gained initial victories, the slave-owning class refused to be driven off the stage of history and frantically engaged in counter-revolutionary restoration activities by relying on the slave-owner forces still preserved in the various vassal states and by taking advantage of the numerous ties the feudal rulers of various states still maintained with the slave-owning class. It waged a life-and-death struggle with the landlord class. It resorted to violence in dealing with the feudal reformers, the Legalists. Hsimen Pao of the state of Wei "died of treachery"; Wu Ch'i in the state of Ch'u was killed by a barrage of arrows, and Shang Yang in the state of Ch'in was torn into pieces by five chariots pulled in different directions. These ruthless historical facts fully reflect the gravity of slave-owners restoration. In addition, the restorationist forces of slave-owners employed base tactics to manufacture counter-revolutionary public opinion in a big way, madly denouncing the state of Ch'in after Shang Yang's reform for "becoming cruel and avaricious," "failing to observe propriety and righteousness," and "harboring wolfish designs." ("Strategy of Wei, Part III, Stratagems of the Warring States") Mencius, vanguard of counter-revolutionary restoration, was even more ferocious; "in the company of dozens of carriages," he toured the various vassal states to solicit support for restoration by the reactionary forces and dreaming of restoring the "paradise" of the slave-owners. However, "the huge wheel of history cannot be dragged back." Although the slave-owning forces gained the upper hand momentarily, they went against the trends of history and the wishes of the people by their attempt to "usurp power and distort reality." "As their evil intents were known to the common people, they were doomed to failure." ("Enriching the State, Hsün Tzu") Having made trouble for some time, they irretrievably went into decline.

Counted from the feudal reform in the early years of the Warring States to Hsün Tzu's social and political activities, the emerging landlord class had gone through more than a century in its struggle to gain its political and economic rights. In this long and devious historical course, power-seizure struggles, both bloody and bloodless, successful and unsuccessful, were unfolded one after another. What were the experiences and lessons? Why was it that feudal reform was more thorough in some places and could not be carried on in others? These questions urgently called for systematic summing up and correct answers so as to formulate a correct line and strategies for the landlord class to seize and consolidate its political power. This task was placed by history on the shoulders of Hsün Tzu and his Legalist students.

In the late Warring States period, the emerging landlord class was still faced with the great historical mission of putting an end to the dismemberment of the country by feudal princes and setting up a unified

state of centralized power. At that time, following the expansion of the economic and political strength of various vassal states, the situation of secessions and annexations developed even more seriously. This was a big obstacle to the further development of the feudal economy and brought untold hardship to the people. When Ch'in Shih Huang, in summing up the struggle for unifying the six states, later said that "the world has had no respite from warfare because of the states," ("Ch'in Shih Huang, Shih Chi"), he was referring to this situation. Not only that, but the exercise of sovereign power by the feudal princes in their domains was favorable to the preservation of the remnants of the slave system and to the restorationist activities of slave-owners, posing a grave threat to the dictatorship of the landlord class. Therefore, ending this phase to "make the world ruled by one man" ("The Way of the Ruler, Hsün Tzu") and to "create the situation in which everyone lives as members of one family within the four seas" ("The Regulations of a King, Hsün Tzu") became an inexorable trend of historical development, was in the personal interests of the landlord class, and was a common desire of the masses of the people. To go along with this historical tide and to realize the great unification, Hsün Tzu proposed and proved his line and policies for making the country rich economically and strong militarily, for establishing a feudal country of centralized power.

While politically opposing the slave-owners restoration and founding a unified empire, the emerging landlord class also demanded for itself a dominant position in the ideological sphere. To meet this need, Hsün Tzu strongly opposed the then chaotic situation in which "the princes rule their domains without interventation by the central government and diverse doctrines are spread by different factions." ("Enlightenment, Hsün Tzu") In the violent class struggle and struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, he resolutely broke through the Confucian net and dashed out from the Confucian camp; he then took over and developed the brilliant thinking of the earlier Legalists and founded an ideological system for the landlord class. He clearly directed the spearhead of his criticism at the school of Tzu Ssu and Mencius claiming orthodoxy in Confucianism. He relentlessly exposed "the crimes of Tzu Ssu and Mencius," cogently ridiculed them and their like as "vulgar Confucians" and "ringleaders of evil people," sternly denounced their doctrines as "perverse doctrines" and "evil words" designed to "disrupt" the "world" of the landlord class, and loudly proposed to substitute their theories with Legalist theories. In order to make the Legalist ideas more suitable to the needs of the landlord class, Hsün Tzu also adopted and developed the rational elements and positive achievements of the doctrines of diverse schools to enrich and perfect the Legalist theories, and served the landlord class dictatorship by "working out a general strategy, achieving uniformity in words and actions, and establishing uniform standards." ("Answering the 12 Scholars, Hsün Tzu")

II.

To "imitate later kings" or to "imitate early kings," to reform or to stick to the old rules and regulations, to stress the present and slight the past or to stress the past and slight the present--this was a central question in the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines in the

Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. Hsün Tzu summed up the practical experiences of the reform movements in various states during the Warring States period, criticized the fallacy of "imitating early kings" advocated by the Confucians, and for the first time clearly set forth the splendid theory of "imitating later kings." This shows that his political stand was basically opposed to the reactionary Confucian stand of restoring the old order and returning to the past.

Hsün Tzu's proposal to "imitate later kings" was predicated on the viewpoint of historical evolution and the materialist theory of knowledge. He held that history was changing and developing, that those behind would overtake those in front, and that "blue comes from the indigo plant but is bluer than the plant itself." ("Encouraging Learning, Hsün Tzu") He contended that in studying history one must take the present-day reality as the standard; "if you want to look at the past thousand years, you must begin by looking at the present." ("Distorting Reality, Hsün tzu") When it comes to the theory of knowledge, Hsün Tzu maintained that "hearing about something is better than not hearing about it; and seeing it is better than hearing about it." ("Effects of Confucianism, Hsün Tzu") He attached immense importance to perceptual experience gained by hearing and seeing, stressing that the observation of problems must be based on facts. He thought that the merits of the "early kings" were elusive and "perished with the time." ("Distorting Reality, Hsün Tzu") Yet the merits of the "later kings" were "shining" and were for all to see. From this, he arrived at the conclusion that the "later kings" were better than the "early kings" and that it was necessary to "examine the ways of the later kings" and "imitate the later kings." He firmly opposed the adverse restorationist tide of "ignoring the later kings and praising the rules of antiquity" (Ibid) and the "sayings of the diverse schools" which "do not deal with later kings."

Hsün Tzu's proposal to "imitate later kings" was based on his summing up and affirmation of the practical experience in political reforms in various states at that time. To "examine the ways of later kings," he went on a tour of such states as Ch'i, Ch'u, and Chao to find out the conditions of feudal rule at that time. In particular, he smashed the conventional rule that "Confucians do not go to Ch'in" and determinedly took the revolutionary action of "visiting Ch'in" to show that he was different from the disciples of Confucius and Mencius. After Hsün Tzu arrived at Ch'in, he made a study of its geography, customs, politics and the style and practices of the royal court. When Fan Tsui, the prime minister of Ch'in, asked him "what you have seen in Ch'in," he spoke at length of what he saw and heard and said in conclusion: Since Shang Yang introduced the political reform in Ch'in, "victories have been won in four generations, and this is by no means fortuitous," and he affirmed that the state of Ch'in had arrived at the state of "perfect order." ("Making the State Strong, Hsün Tzu") This conclusion drawn by Hsün Tzu was appropriate. Indeed, at that time the state of Ch'in had for "four generations" continued pushing Shang Yang's Legalist line, with remarkable achievements made in the feudal economy and politics. What is noteworthy is that although Hsün Tzu did make some criticism of Ch'in, he had never changed his conclusion about "victories in four generations." This fact eloquently shows that Hsün Tzu cherished the greatest hope for the state of Ch'in which was most thorough in its political reform at that time,

and that the reform practice of Ch'in became the realistic foundation for his advocacy of "imitating later kings."

Then, what did a "later king" look like in the eyes of Hsün Tzu? Taking the feudal ruler at that time as the model, Hsün Tzu molded his ideal king, namely the "later king." He called the "later king" "king of the world" or "sage-king," maintaining that once the "sage-king arises," he would "first exterminate" those "ringleaders of evil people" who "know only how to argue without knowing how to unify the country," namely the slave-owners restorationist forces. ("Distorting Reality, Hsün Tzu") Obviously, such a "later king" could be none other than the supreme representative of the landlord class dictatorship. He also regarded the "later king" as the future reformer, thinking that "if a king arises, he will surely follow the old names and create new names." ("Rectifying Names, Hsün Tzu") Following means transmitting. What is meant by "follow the old names and create new names" is that one transmits and creates at the same time. This is quite the opposite to the reactionary credo energetically advertised by Confucius when he said, "I am a transmitter and not a maker; I believe in and am fond of antiquity." ("Confucian Analects") Su Shih of Sung attacked Hsün Tzu's student, Li Ssu, for "serving Ch'in" and taking the measures of burning books and burying the Confucian scholars alive, "wiping out feudal princes for three generations and destroying the 9-square field system of Duke Chou," and said that all these measures were derived from Hsün Tzu's theory of "not imitating the sage-kings of ancient times who had nothing worth learning." ("On Hsün Ch'ing, Collected Literary Writings of Su Shih") This precisely shows that Hsün Tzu's idea of "imitating later kings" was aimed at replacing the slave-owners dictatorship with the landlord class dictatorship. Although Hsün Tzu failed to realize his ideal of "imitating later kings" during his life, Li Ssu inherited this idea and assisted Ch'in Shin Huang in unifying the land and founding the first feudal country of centralized power in Chinese history. Hsün Tzu's dream finally came true in Ch'in Shih Huang's time.

Hsün Tzu's advocacy of "imitating later kings" was closely connected with his idea of "rule of law." In his views, "imitating later kings" meant "imitating their laws to devise a uniform standard," ("Enlightenment, Hsün Tzu") namely, following the laws of "later kings." Thus, he attached tremendous importance to the rule of law. He said: "Law is the first requirement of order." ("The Way of the Ruler, Hsün Tzu") "The Way and the law are fundamental to governing a state." ("To the Officials, Hsün Tzu") That is to say, "law" is the primary link leading to "order"; it is a fundamental thing in a feudal state. He called for "making the laws of the ruler clear and the regulations constant." ("On Government, Hsün Tzu") This means that the laws of the ruler must be clearly stipulated and a fixed standard be followed in political administration. In this way, it would be possible to "close" the "private gate" of slave-owning nobles and to "reach" the "justice" of the landlord class, and it would be only then that "those who go against the law can be put to death without pardon." ("The Regulations of a King, Hsün Tzu") In this way, sabotage acts against the landlord class could be prohibited and suppressed and the political power of the landlord class consolidated. On top of this,

he attached major importance to the "authority" and "power" of the feudal ruler, who must possess the "art of listening to different views, exposing the seamy side of administration, redressing grievances, beating back the evils, and improving standards." ("To the Officials, Hsün Tzu") Chu Hsi attacked him, saying: "Hsün Ch'ing is no better than Shen Pu-hai and Han Fei", "his ultimate aim being nothing but to make the legal system clear and to hand out rewards and punishments." ("Collected Works of Chu Tzu") These words, from the negative aspect, confirmed that Hsün Tzu was in favor of "rule of law."

Under the situation of big social change in the late Warring States period, Hsün Tzu also made a fresh interpretation of "propriety" on the basis of his idea of rule of law, changing its original meaning and giving it a profound legal content. Judging by Hsün Tzu's thinking, "propriety" consists mainly of the gradation system, laws, moral standards, etc., in feudal society. Sometimes Hsün Tzu thought that "propriety" meant law. "Propriety is the great basis of law and the foundation of precedents." ("Encouraging Learning, Hsün Tzu") As far as its class essence is concerned, Hsün Tzu's "propriety" was superstructure built on the feudal economic foundation where "land is divided and plowed by peasants," and was used to consolidate the rule of the emerging landlord class. It was different from the Confucian propagation of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" in defense of slave-owners rule. Hsün Tzu took the view that all men were the same at the beginning, that there were no innate differences between being noble and mean and in gradation, and that such differences were later caused by different efforts made by men. The superior and inferior men, men of nobility and men of humble origin, the Son of Heaven and the janitor could transform into each other. He said: "Although a man may be the descendant of kings, dukes, or high court ministers, if he cannot adhere to ritual principles, he should be ranked among the commoners. Although a man may be the descendant of commoners.....and can adhere to ritual principles, he should be promoted to the post of prime minister or high court official." ("The Regulations of a King, Hsün Tzu") Here Hsün Tzu linked his idea of changeability of rank with "propriety and righteousness," not only proclaiming the bankruptcy of the gradation system of the slave society but also negating the original content of Confucian "propriety and righteousness." On this basis, Hsün Tzu stressed that "if a man comes forward in good faith, treat him according to propriety; if he comes forward in bad faith, meet him with punishment." (Ibid) Here "propriety" and "punishment" were based on the interests of the landlord class, and the gradation system of slave society in which "propriety does not apply to commoners, nor is punishment extended to officials," a system defended by the Confucians, was further negated. It can be seen that Hsün Tzu's call for "observing propriety" and stressing the importance of landlord class "propriety" were for serving the revolutionary reform of the emerging landlord class, and were still subordinated to his basic idea of "imitating later kings."

"Truth develops in struggle against falsehood." Hsün Tzu's idea of "imitating later kings" was proposed in the struggle against the Confucian idea of "imitating early kings." Confucius "always spoke of Yao and Shun and Kings Wen and Wu in drawing up his rules and regulations." And Mencius cried aloud: "There has never been anyone who observed the laws of

the early kings and yet had made mistakes." ("Li Lou, Mencius") Their purpose in singing aloud about "imitating early kings" was to vainly attempt to rescue and restore the slave system. Hsün Tzu sharply attacked Tzu Ssu, Mencius and the like for "copying from early kings to disrupt the world order" and "bullying the ignorant in the name of early kings." He pointed out that they "do not imitate the later kings and standardize the systems." ("Effects of Confucianism, Hsün Tzu") With the sensitivity of an emerging landlord class thinker, he recognized the vain attempt of Tzu Szu, Mencius and the like in "imitating early kings" to attain their reactionary aim of "disrupting" the "world" of the emerging landlord class, and he thus shot an arrow at the right target of the Confucian doctrines. Lin Piao, inheriting the mantle of Confucius and Mencius, made a futile attempt to turn back the wheel of history and drag socialist China back to the old road of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. This was a reprint under new historical conditions of the reactionary Confucian line of restoring the old order and returning to the past.

III.

As a rule Legalists take materialism as the theoretical basis for their political line. Hsün Tzu for the first time in history clearly proposed the materialist and atheist idea that "man is distinguished from Heaven," that "man should bring the will of Heaven under control and make use of it," and that man will surely conquer nature, thereby laying the philosophical foundation for the Legalist political line and providing a powerful ideological weapon for the emerging landlord class to carry out its revolutionary reform program.

Hsün Tzu's theory of "distinction between Heaven and man" was directed at the Confucian-Mencian theory of "unity between Heaven and man." In the eyes of Confucius and Mencius, Heaven was spiritual and had a will, and therefore it could decide on man's order and disorder, fortune and misfortune, life and death, sorrow and happiness. Speaking specifically, the rule of the slave-owning nobles was arranged by Heavenly mandate, and if slaves and the newly emerging feudal forces should rise up to overthrow their rule, they would be resisting the will of Heaven. Hsün Tzu forcefully refuted this reactionary theory. On the one hand, he reduced the mysterious "Heaven" to one of matter, pointing out that Heaven was but part of the natural world and that the growth and changes of all things in the world of nature were governed by their own laws. Thus he said: "When Heaven and earth combine, all things are born; when the Yin and Yang act upon each other, all changes are produced," ("A Discussion of Propriety, Hsün Tzu") adding, "Heaven's ways are constant. It does not prevail because of a sage like Yao; it does not cease to prevail because of a tyrant like Chieh." ("A Discussion of Heaven, Hsün Tzu") Man was powerless to change these laws at will. On the other hand, he pointed out emphatically that man's life and death, riches and honors depended on his own effort to "increase his basic strength and regulate its use" and on whether he did things in the correct way, and that this had nothing to do with the "will of Heaven." He also stressed that order and disorder in society had nothing to do with "Heaven" because they were entirely decided by man. To attain the goal of "order under Heaven," it was necessary to eradicate all "human evils" that "disrupt" the "world" of the landlord class. In addition, Hsün Tzu derived

from the "distinction between Heaven and man" the differences between man's natural instinct and his conscious activity, that is, the so-called "distinction between nature and pretense." From the "distinction between nature and pretense," he directly drew the conclusion on "propriety" and "rule of law." The principle of "distinction between Heaven and man" also provided the theoretical premise for the new feudal gradation system. According to this principle, there was no natural connection between man's blood relationship and his social position; therefore, there was only one criterion for determining man's social position, that is the "propriety and righteousness" or "law" of the emerging landlord class. He said that "the laws of the ruler should be taken as the criteria" and that those who obeyed them would be "honored" while those who disobeyed them would be "disgraced." ("On Government, Hsün Tzu") As for the fixing of social grades, Hsün Tzu called for the adoption of a policy of "determining social standing on the basis of virtue" and "giving appointments on the basis of ability." This then negated the hereditary system based on blood relationship and the so-called "rule of propriety" and "benevolent government" advocated by the Confucians. Besides, the theory of "distinction between Heaven and man" led people to release themselves from the bondage of "Heavenly will" and of the natural world, and this played a tremendous role in encouraging the emerging landlord class to actively transform society and develop production. This clearly shows that Hsün Tzu's "distinction between Heaven and man" was a revolutionary and progressive idea.

On the basis of the theory of "distinction between Heaven and man," Hsün Tzu further advanced the brilliant thesis that man would surely triumph over Heaven, an outstanding contribution to the history of development of materialism. He said: "Is it better to exalt Heaven and think of it, or to nourish its creatures and regulate them? Is it better to obey Heaven and sing hymns to it, or to grasp the mandate of Heaven and make use of it?" ("A Discussion of Heaven, Hsün Tzu") What he asked for was to "grasp" and "make use of the mandate of Heaven," to make "Heaven and earth serve the growth of all things." He argued that we should let Heaven and earth each fulfill its functions and the growth of all things subordinate to the rule of man, instead of waiting for favors from Heaven and becoming its prisoners. This formed a sharp contrast with the fallacies of "fearing the mandate of Heaven" and "respecting the mandate of Heaven" advocated by Confucius and Mencius. It reflected the basic antagonism between Hsün Tzu's world outlook and the reactionary world outlook of Confucius and Mencius. The renegade Lin Piao picked up the Confucian-Mencian "theory of Heavenly mandate" that had long ago been criticized by Hsün Tzu, compared himself to a "Heavenly horse," trumpeted the idealist "theory of genuis" and used it as the theoretical basis for his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. This completely exposed the decadent and reactionary nature of this anti-Party chieftain.

The brilliant ideas on reform and progress advanced by Hsün Tzu in the midst of the acute and complicated struggle in the Warring States period nourished such outstanding Legalists as Han Fei and Li Ssu, and provided an ideological weapon for establishing the domination of the emerging landlord class. They had produced far-reaching influence on progressive thinkers and statesmen in the feudal society lasting for more than two thousand years. However, in his outlook on history Hsün Tzu, as a thinker of the exploiting class, was still an idealist although he was a materialist in his

outlook on nature. His "rule of law" also implied suppression of the laboring people. Although he gave "propriety" a new interpretation and gave content to the "rule of law" and the feudal gradation system, yet in a certain degree he still retained the Confucian shopworn concepts regarding "propriety." Although he stressed the need to "imitate later kings," sometimes he also praised the "early kings," with the result that there were ambiguities and contradictions in his thinking. Hence, in Hsün Tzu the principled distinction between the Confucian and Legalist schools was sometimes anything but clear. All this reflected the fact that Hsün Tzu had not completely freed himself from Confucian influence. Precisely because of this weakness, Hsün Tzu's thinking was bound to be distorted and used by the later Confucians. Take a look at history, and we see that such cases are numerous. In criticizing Machism, Lenin said: "Our profound Machians avoid an analysis of each individual proposition of Dietzgen's materialist theory of knowledge, but seize upon his deviations from that theory, upon his vagueness and confusion. J. Dietzgen could find favor with the reactionary philosophers only because he occasionally gets muddled." ("Materialism and Empirio-Criticism") Lenin also disclosed that the Machians attempted to use Dietzgen's weak point to found a line of some sort. Didn't the reactionary Confucians adopt the same tactics and attitude in distorting Hsün Tzu? This is a historical lesson that deserves deep thought.

In the prolonged feudal society, no public debate could have been held on Hsün Tzu and his thinking. Neither could the bourgeois thinkers really recognize Hsün Tzu's original features. Only the proletariat, armed with Marxism, is capable of giving him a correct appraisal. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, "use the ancient to serve the present," we must use the Marxist theory of class struggle and the dialectical method of one dividing into two to not only affirm the progressive roles of the Legalists in history but also to point out their shortcomings and insufficiencies, to correctly sum up the historical experiences of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole, and to work for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Persist in Continuing the Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

- Some experiences in developing the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture

by

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In 1964 Chairman Mao issued the great call "in agriculture, learn from Tachai." This is a brilliant road pointed out by Chairman Mao for building up our country's socialist agriculture. He made the call after he had comprehensively put forward our Party's basic line for the whole historic period of socialism at the 10th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee and initiated the movement for socialist education in urban and rural areas.

Tachai is a red banner in persistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat after fundamental victories were won in transforming the system of ownership in the rural areas of our country, and in building up socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results. During the past decade, the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members have deepened the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao. The vast countryside has undergone a profound political and ideological revolution and a great struggle to reshape nature. The movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture has been rapidly developing in greater depth and on a larger scale especially since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in which the revisionist line peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has been penetratingly criticized and their criminal schemes of vainly attempting to restore capitalism were totally smashed. Today, Chairman Mao's call to learn from Tachai in agriculture has gone deeper into the minds of the people, and Tachai's revolutionary spirit has been extensively developed. After 10 years of practice and struggle, the broad masses and Party committees at all levels have enhanced their understanding of the need to learn from Tachai, further strengthened their determination and gathered more abundant experiences. Advanced models of learning from Tachai in various localities have made new progress and development on the basis of their original achievements. There are more and more Tachai-type advanced communes and production brigades, and Tachai-type hsien have emerged one after another. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is closely linked with the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture in the countryside and this has brought about deep changes in all fields. The cadres and masses are vigorously carrying out their tasks in unity. Socialist new things are constantly emerging. Various large-scale farmland capital construction projects have been understaken with tremendous enthusiasm, and bumper farm harvests have been reaped for 13

consecutive years. All this has greatly strengthened the collective economy of the people's communes and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The vigorous development of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is not coincidental. It fully reflects the strong desire of Chinese peasants to continue the revolution after implementation of the commune system. It also reflects the strong revolutionary will of the people of all nationalities on our agricultural front to persist in taking the socialist road and sticking to the policy of self-reliance. The practice of struggle has shown that if we persist in following the brilliant road of learning from Tachai in agriculture under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we shall be able to constantly whip up the masses' enthusiasm for socialism and develop the superior features of people's communes. We shall be able to change the mental outlook of the people, the natural conditions and the output of agricultural crops, speed up the development of socialist agriculture and rapidly improve the situation in rural areas. Therefore, we should conscientiously sum up our experiences and continue to carry forward the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture.

How should we look at Tachai? What should we learn from it? In the past few years various areas have greatly raised their understanding in this respect through practice. And the experiences of Tachai and many advanced units in learning from Tachai show that the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is not simply a question of raising agricultural production but a deepgoing socialist revolution. The building of socialism and the development of socialist agriculture first involve the struggle between the two classes and two roads, a struggle in which Marxism defeats revisionism, the proletariat defeats the bourgeoisie, and socialism defeats capitalism. Over the past 20 years and more, the Tachai Party branch has led the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in persistently putting proletarian politics in command, in upholding the principle of putting Mao Tsetung Thought to the core and promoting the spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle and the communist style of cherishing the country and the collective, in ceaselessly criticizing revisionism, capitalism, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and the ideologies of all exploiting classes, thus creating a new socialist world. Tachai's experience is valuable because the Tachai people have conscientiously implemented the Party's basic line, persisted in using socialism to defeat capitalism, and unremittingly struggled against the bourgeoisie and spontaneous capitalist tendencies in the political, ideological and economic spheres. In learning from Tachai, we must, as Tachai does, strive to raise our awareness of implementing the Party's basic line, uphold Marxism, criticize revisionism, persist in the socialist road, criticize capitalism, and deepen the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside. If we do this, we will be correctly learning from Tachai.

In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads will exist objectively on a protracted basis in the countryside. Attacks in the political-ideological and economic spheres have been launched in the past, are being launched and will be launched by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Each step forward made by socialism is bound to arouse fierce opposition by the

bourgeoisie; this is determined by the law of class struggle. The question is whether or not we recognize the protracted and complex nature of class struggle, whether or not we take the initiative to fight against the class enemy's restoration activities and capitalist tendencies. Our progress in learning from Tachai depends on such an initiative. In Shansi, Shouyang hsien is a neighbor of Hsiyang. Its population is about the same as that of Hsiyang, but its land is twice as big as Hsiyang's. Given these conditions, it should have achieved much in learning from Tachai. But under the interference and influence of the revisionist line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the hsien leadership for a long time satisfied itself with empty talk about class struggle and the struggle between the two roads. It did not make serious efforts to criticize capitalism or hit at the class enemy's restoration activities. Consequently, it did not do well in learning from Tachai as it did not thoroughly discredit capitalism. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in 1974, they, having seriously summed up their experience and lessons, realized that the current struggle between the two classes and two roads in the countryside was still very acute and that a handful of class enemies were trying by every means to woo and corrupt the cadres, look for agents within the Party, and carry out activities to restore capitalism by capitalizing on the spontaneous capitalist tendencies among some of the peasants who still hankered after the concept of private ownership. Some communes and brigades, manipulated by the class enemies behind the scene, raised the banner of "developing collective production" to induce the cadres to depart from the socialist orientation and practice the capitalist line of management within the collective economy in an attempt to pass off capitalism for socialism and oppose socialism. In view of this situation, they mobilized and relied on the masses in thoroughly criticizing the revisionist line and relentlessly striking at the sabotage activities of the class enemies and capitalist evil winds, and conscientiously solved the question of road and orientation for developing agriculture. This strengthened the unity between cadres and the masses and increased their socialist enthusiasm. It also brought about tremendous changes in the hsien within a year, with grain output in 1974 rising by nearly 70 percent over 1973.

Although the changes in Shouyang hsien have just begun, the example it set is very convincing, showing that in criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius it is necessary to grasp the question of line and that to take the Tachai road and adhere to the socialist orientation it is necessary to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the class enemies and capitalism. When this is done, the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture will advance rapidly, the potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism among the masses will burst forth, and rapid changes will take place in outlook before long.

"If the capitalist road is not closed, it is impossible to march in large strides on the socialist road." This is a vivid generalization of the experience of Tachai and many advanced units in learning from it. If socialism does not occupy the rural position, it will be occupied by capitalism. Criticism of revisionism and capitalism must be firmly grasped, not relaxed or halted. This applies to all areas, areas which have done their work fairly well due to favorable conditions and areas which have lagged behind due to unfavorable conditions. Driven by the movement

to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, Hsiao hsien in Anhwei province has been advancing fairly rapidly in learning from Tachai since 1970. By 1973 it had transformed 60 percent of its saline land and expanded its irrigated area by three-fold. Its total grain output nearly doubled. In this process, some comrades, seeing these achievements, relaxed class struggle and wanted to concentrate on production only. After investigation and study, the hsien Party committee realized that the principal obstacle to further learning from Tachai was still the class enemy's activities to restore capitalism, and that in order to continue to advance, it was necessary to conduct unceasing criticism of these activities. Over the past years the Party committee has taken the Party's basic line as the key link, grasped the solution of the principal question of road and orientation, and conducted socialist education in the light of actual conditions. In this way, the hsien has become even more advanced. Wupao hsien in Shensi province is a different case. Located on the loess plateau, its hills are barren and it is very difficult to develop production. Previously, some people had thought that with these natural conditions it was difficult to improve things. But the fact is not so. Since 1970 the people of the hsien have launched a vigorous campaign to learn from Tachai and have brought about great changes in 3 years. Their principal experience consists of criticism of the evil wind of capitalism, dealing blows at the class enemy's saboage activities, and placing emphasis on the solution of the question of road and orientation for developing the collective economy. Because this question has been solved satisfactorily, the masses have closely followed socialism with heart and soul and have displayed greater enthusiasm for developing socialist agriculture.

"The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." Experience gained by many areas further demonstrates that whether or not one is able to master the Tachai experience is, in the final analysis, a question of line. Objective conditions can be transformed through serious efforts. It is not natural conditions that decide everything; it is the correctness or incorrectness of the line that decides everything. The advanced will continue to advance and the backward will catch up with the advanced quickly if they follow the correct line, continue to deepen criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, grasp the principal contradiction--the struggle between the two classes and two roads, persist in socialism, and criticize capitalism. Otherwise, it is impossible for any unit, however favorable its natural conditions, to advance rapidly on the road of learning from Tachai.

We must resolutely rely on the masses and mobilize them to criticize capitalism. We must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and correctly handle them. We must persist in uniting more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres. In the countryside, capitalism takes root among the class enemies. Capitalism spreads unchecked usually in places where class enemies are pulling the strings behind the scenes. We must fully expose and resolutely strike at their disruptive activities. But the spontaneous capitalist tendencies among a small number of cadres and people should be settled by having them recall the past and comparing it with the present, by inducing them to raise their class awareness, by criticizing and educating them and by thoroughly and meticulously carrying

out ideological work among them. An important aspect of learning from Tachai is to continuously instill socialist ideas into the peasants, criticize capitalist tendencies, and persist in carrying out socialist education. This educational work can be more thorough and effective when it is carried out in close connection with the current class struggle. The experiences of various localities have shown that criticizing capitalism is an effective way of instilling socialist ideas into the peasants and carrying out political and ideological work among them. The poor and lower-middle peasants have demonstrated their great love for socialism and utmost hatred for capitalism. They have all suffered much from oppression and exploition in the old society. We must be good at guiding them to use their personal experiences in the old and new societies to expose and criticize the danger of capitalist tendencies while inducing them to consciously adhere to the socialist road. Only in this way can they continue to raise their socialist awareness and greatly increase their ability to distinguish between socialism and capitalism and the correct and erroneous lines. With such a socialist force armed with the Party's basic line and composed of poor and lower-middle peasants as the mainstay, the disruptive activities of class enemy can be promptly exposed, the market for capitalist activities will gradually shrink, and the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture will gain momentum and surge ahead constantly.

We must not only grasp well class struggle in the economic field but also attach major importance to class struggle in the superstructure including the ideological field. In rural China the system of private ownership has existed for several thousand years. Since the founding of new China, it has been less than 20 years since agriculture was collectivized. As far back as 1955 Chairman Mao had told us: "Before a brand new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean." This means that in order to consolidate the socialist system, a socialist revolution must be simultaneously carried out on the political, ideological, and economic fronts. If we fail to firmly grasp the struggle in the ideological field, the struggle in the economic field cannot be carried through to the end, and the victories already won cannot be consolidated. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius which began last year, have forcefully criticized and pounded at the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and all other ideologies of decadent and declining exploiting classes. This has greatly enriched and improved the knowledge of leadership at all levels about this matter. Over the past several years, Chaling hsien in Hunan province has conscientiously learned from Tachai and devoted itself to firmly grasping the struggle between the two roads and grasping revolution and promoting production. It has achieved some fine results. In the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, while summing up experience, it found that although progress had been made in production in some communes and brigades, unhealthy capitalist tendencies had not been completely checked and some ideas which were criticized before reappeared and that there had been frequent reversals. What were the causes! The truth is that in these places, the class enemies have made use of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to corrupt the masses and spread the "four olds," and the leadership there have failed to conscientiously grasp the struggle in the ideological field, thus

giving the class enemies a chance for action. Through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the hsien has mobilized the masses to deepen the criticism of the theory that "Heaven decides," the fallacy that "the highest are wise, and the lowest stupid," the "doctrine of the mean," and all other ideas of the decadent and declining exploiting classes, linking them to the ultra-Rightist essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line. As a result, the people's minds have been emancipated, and new progress has been made in learning from Tachai.

This experience tells the Chaling hsien Party committee that unless conscientious efforts are made to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and break with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the old ideas, old culture, and old customs and habits which have been used by the reactionary classes to poison the people, the struggle between the two roads cannot be successfully carried out. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius have been spread throughout China for more than 2,000 years. Through these years, careful and meticulous efforts were made by reactionary classes of various dynasties to process and develop the doctrines into inveterate traditional concepts used to preserve private ownership. These old, traditional concepts have also been repeatedly used by the class enemies to corrupt the minds of the masses and to attain their criminal aim of restoring capitalism. For this reason, it is necessary to solve the question of which orientation and road to follow and do a good job in production and construction. But before doing this, we must first build up our ideological bastion and grasp well the revolution in the ideological field. This is a common experience gained by Chaling hsien and many advanced units in learning from Tachai. In the course of learning from Tachai, it is necessary to grasp class struggle in the ideological field and to effectively do a good job in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Since the people have gained an increasingly better understanding of this point, they are now attaching greater significance to it. We must give particular importance to the experience in this field, and sum up and popularize them in good time.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to learn from Tachai in agriculture now going on in the vast countryside are fiercely pounding at those parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the socialist economic base. A new upsurge will certainly be whipped up in developing socialist agriculture. Now, an extremely important question is to how to keep the thinking of leadership abreast of the rapidly developing revolutionary situation. The experiences of Tachai, Hsiyang and other advanced areas show that constantly encouraging cadres to raise their awareness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is still a primary task. The Party's basic line is a general guide for all work. A most fundamental task in developing socialist agriculture is to resolutely and thoroughly implement the Party's basic line, and to always firmly grasp the principal contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Historical experience and current class struggle testify to the need to grasp revolution and promote production simultaneously if socialist agriculture is to be developed, and that one would invariably go astray if one pays attention to grasping production alone. At the same

time, we must conscientiously carry out a series of policies and measures on rural work set forth by Chairman Mao, and correctly handle the relationships between the state, the collective and the individual. These policies guarantee the thorough implementation of the line, and under no circumstances should we substitute emotions for policies. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that we should be concerned for the well-being of the masses and pay attention to methods of work. Confronted with the gigantic mass movement in which millions upon millions of peasants are learning from Tachai in agriculture, the leadership at all levels must have clear thoughts and a sufficient understanding.

In developing socialist agriculture, we must set a lofty goal, dare to think and dare to act. We must develop socialism in a big way, and under no circumstances should we be satisfied with what we have achieved. We must bring into full play the spirit of the general line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. We must uphold the revolutionary spirit of developing socialist agriculture in a big way and building a socialist new countryside. In addition to having clear and feasible objectives and plans, we must work realistically and arduously. We must assiduously study works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and restudy the series of important instructions of Chairman Mao's on developing socialist agriculture in our country. We must conscientiously carry out the strategic principles--"Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony" and "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." We must truly go to the forefront and carry out investigation at selected basic units. We must take part in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements together with the masses. While participating in collective productive labor, we must conscientiously sum up the experiences of the masses, gain the initiative in directing work, and push the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture constantly forward.

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Learn From Tach'ing with the Line as the Key Link

by

T'ien Chih-sung (田志松)

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The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is being carried out in a thorough, widespread and sustained way. This profound socialist revolution in the superstructure has vigorously transformed people's mentality and promoted the development of all socialist construction undertakings. It has also promoted the in-depth development of the movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry.

In 1964 the great leader Chairman Mao issued the great call "learn from Tach'ing in industry" to the people throughout the country, pointing out that it was necessary for the industrial and communications front to implement the Party's basic line and persist in the orientation of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieving greater, faster, better and more economic results in building socialism.

Tach'ing is an example of running socialist enterprises well in accordance with the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." It is also an example of developing industrial production in our own way in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have criticized in depth the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, thus creating favorable conditions for the further development of the mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry. In 1974 workers on the industrial and communications front in Tientsin municipality seriously studied Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works, resolutely implemented the series of directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, persisted in learning from Tach'ing in industry, thus pushing the in-depth development of revolution and production. The year 1974 was a year in which the mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry was extensively developed in the municipality, the masses of workers profoundly changed their mentality and the city set a peak record in industrial production.

The key to learning from Tach'ing in industry lies in resolutely letting proletarian politics take command, implementing the Party's basic line and persisting in the socialist orientation. Various kinds of contradictions exist in factories and enterprises, but the main and decisive one is the contradiction between the two classes and the two roads. After the socialist reform of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, class struggle has not come to an end in factories and enterprises. The struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines will go on for a long time. This struggle exists in all aspects of work in an enterprise. "The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." Only by persisting in the Party's basic line, grasping well the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure, ceaselessly consolidating the socialist system of ownership by the whole

people and using proletarian politics to command production and technology, as Tach'ing has done, is it possible to enable enterprises to advance without a hitch along the socialist path.

The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle in the superstructure, in which the proletariat defeats the bourgeoisie and Marxism defeats revisionism. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the masses of workers have closely linked it with the reality of class struggle and two-line struggle in their enterprises and criticized in depth "restraining oneself and returning to propriety"--the reactionary program of Lin Piao and Confucius. This has given them a clear understanding of the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's attempt to change the Party's basic line and restore capitalism, enhanced their consciousness of implementing the Party's basic line and deepened their understanding of Tach'ing's basic experiences. In the past, some units regarded Tach'ing solely as a "production model," onesidedly believing that learning from Tach'ing aimed only at increasing production. They "remembered Tach'ing when they had an urgent production job or faced problems in production, but forgot it after fulfilling their production plans." Consequently, they did not learn its basic experiences. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they summed up the experiences, both positive and negative, realizing that the struggle in the economic field is always closely linked with the two-line struggle. The problem of industrial construction is, in the final analysis, a problem of line. One follows either a correct or an erroneous line. If one alienates oneself from the Party's basic line and does not learn from Tach'ing in respect to line and orientation, not only can he not learn well, but he may also go astray. After enhancing their thinking, many enterprises have learned how to grasp the line. The line is grasped not only by the Party committees but also by the operating departments, and not only by leading cadres but also by the masses. This gives the enterprises a firm and correct political orientation. The tremendous changes that have been observed in Tientsin Heavy Machinery Plant over the past year amply demonstrate the decisive effects of grasping the line on the successful operation of a socialist enterprise. This plant was originally a backward unit. Grasping production for its own sake, it had held a good number of specialized conferences and devised a set of rules and regulations. On their part, the workers made a lot of suggestions. However, production remained as it was. Since the 10th Party Congress the plant Party committee has enhanced its consciousness of grasping major issues, and driven by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, it has unfolded the movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry. It has conducted in depth education on the Party's basic line, firmly grasped class struggle in general and in the ideological domain in particular, thereby further arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the workers and staff members and changing the complexion of the enterprise completely. In 1974, it fulfilled three months ahead of schedule its annual output value plan, registering a 59 percent increase over the comparable period of 1973.

Shall we merely grasp production, or grasp revolution to promote production? This reflects a struggle between the two lines and the two ideologies. The relationship between revolution and production is always

that the former commands and spurs on the latter; this cannot be reversed. In the past, however, some comrades often oscillated with regard to this problem. When a political movement had continued for a long time and when they had to produce more, they would relax revolution and simply grasp production. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Party committees at all levels repeatedly studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, particularly the theses on the dialectical relationship between revolution and production, and criticized Lin Piao's crimes in undermining the socialist revolution and production. This greatly enhanced their understanding of this problem. Especially they saw that production was not adversely affected but increased fast after the staff members and workers had held many criticism meetings, written many articles and studied a lot of historical and contemporary materials to denounce Lin Piao and Confucius. As a result, they came to realize even more clearly that the fundamental thing in achieving success in production is to carry out the revolution well. When the revolution is carried out well, it will be possible to give full scope to the superiority of the socialist system and to ceaselessly enhance the communist consciousness of the masses. When the consciousness of the masses is enhanced, a spiritual force will turn into a huge material force, there is no difficulty which cannot be overcome, and miracles can be performed on earth. Now great victories have been won in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, but the struggle has not come to an end. It is still necessary to penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the various fallacies he advocated in a vain attempt to split the Party and the revolutionary ranks and to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist new things. As for the influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, it is especially imperative to engage in a long-term struggle to wipe it out. We must continue to grasp firmly and well the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as a matter of prime importance so as to spur on the mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry.

Whom shall we rely upon in running an enterprise? Shall we rely upon the masses and go all out to develop a mass movement or shall we rely upon only a few people and carry out the line of experts? This has long been the focus of struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian line and the revisionist line with regard to running enterprises. The basic experience gained by Tach'ing is to wholeheartedly rely upon the working class and to give full play to the socialist zeal and creativity of workers, cadres and engineers and technicians in running socialist enterprises.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the socialist revolution and construction, it is necessary to uphold the mass line, boldly mobilize the masses and go all out to develop the mass movement." To mobilize and rely on the masses, we must first firmly convince ourselves that the masses want revolution and have the strong desire to run socialist enterprises well and to develop the socialist industry rapidly. In the past, leaders of some enterprises failed to see the potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism existing among the masses. All day long they "rack their brains to count the assets, ponder the difficulties before them, and calculate the production value of their enterprises." The conclusion they arrived at was that nothing more could be done. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius,

the broad masses criticized the concept that "Heaven decides," the "theory of genius" and the idealist historical viewpoint that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid," advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius. They have thus extricated themselves from the spiritual shackles which bound their minds, recognized their own strength, and enhanced their sense of revolutionary responsibility to act as masters of the enterprise. In the meantime, efforts have been made to wipe out the erroneous ideas in the minds of those cadres who only trusted experts but not the masses. Most people have awakened and now profoundly realize the great truth that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." With a changed outlook, they have gained greater confidence, become more determined and tried more ways to do their work. A number of problems which had remained unsolved for years were thus solved. Since its inception a paper mill in Tientsin had faced two "longstanding, big and difficult" problems: the viscidity and fragility of the glass paper and the financial loss in the production of copper-plate paper. The mill's leadership had thrice engaged experts to help solve the problems, but nothing was accomplished. Through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, it summed up the historical experience and recognized that the failure to have these two problems settled was mainly because the idea of relying on the working class heart and soul had not been established in a real sense. So, the problems were turned over to the masses, who were boldly encouraged to find the way to solve them. Thus, the problems which remained unsolved for years were settled in several months. In 1974 the percentage of first-class products turned out by this paper mill rose by 10 percent over the year before last, the cost of production of copper-plate paper dropped by a big margin, and the state plan was fulfilled more than two months ahead of schedule. The practice shows that the masses are the real heroes and that by relying on the masses we can be ever invincible.

A major aspect of the movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry is to mobilize the masses to go in for technical innovations and technical transformation on a large scale. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace. We must break away from conventions and do our utmost to adopt advanced techniques in order to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state in not too long a historical period." In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, vast numbers of staff members and workers have used the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to study the historical experience in the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the class struggle as a whole and criticized Confucius' fallacies of restoration and regression and the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The idea of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts has gone deeper into the hearts of the people. The wisdom and talent of the masses have erupted like a volcano. By carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of the Tach'ing working class, the workers have overcome difficulty after difficulty and scaled one high peak after another. Many projects which could not be carried out for years

in the past have now been completed with success. Many things which people did not dare to think of or to carry out have now been done. New technological processes, techniques and materials have been further popularized and put into application and a new comprehensive productive capacity has come into being, creating favorable conditions for further developing production. For instance, the Tientsin Bicycle Plant in the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius organized three big battles, as a result of which it realized 20 more important technical innovations, completed ten mechanized, automatic and semi-automatic production lines including the vibrating automatic line for zinc plating, and boosted the output of bicycles from 870,000 in 1973 to a million pieces in 1974. It had dawned on them that whether production conditions could be changed or not depended on the correctness or incorrectness of the line and that the change of an enterprise began with the change in man's thinking. When the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is carried out well, the line is correct, and the mentality of people is renewed, the conditions of production will change, as will the outlook of the enterprise as a whole.

Strengthening the revolutionary unity of the working class is an important condition for learning from Tach'ing in industry. The working class is the leading class in revolution; it is also "the most progressive class in modern China." We must, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, correctly handle the contradictions within the working class and make great efforts to strengthen its unity. In his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao regarded the correct handling of "contradictions within the working class" as the first priority in correctly handling the contradictions among the people. He pointed out: "Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are nonantagonistic.... The people cannot exercise dictatorship over themselves, nor must one section of the people oppress another." This profound scientific analysis by Chairman Mao has led us in correctly handling the contradictions within the working class, promoted the revolutionary unity of the working class, greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the working class and the people it leads over the class enemy, and helped to resist the erosion of the working class by bourgeois thinking. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao again pointed out with emphasis: "There is no conflict of fundamental interests within the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable groupings." In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, many localities, in line with Chairman Mao's instruction, have endeavored to strengthen unity among the working people, led the masses to criticize Lin Piao's crimes in splitting the Party and the revolutionary ranks, strictly distinguished between and correctly handled the two different types of contradictions, conscientiously carried out the Party's various proletarian policies, and constantly directed the spearhead of struggle at Lin Piao and Confucius. As for a few people who refrained from criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius but were keen on bourgeois factionalist activities, they were patiently criticized and educated. As for certain differences of opinion among the worker masses, the practice of "letting others talk about their own shortcomings and mistakes and letting each make more self-criticism" was adopted. This continuously consolidated the revolutionary great alliance ideologically and organizationally. With regard to the disruptive activities of the class enemies, these were firmly dealt with. Thanks to

a clear distinction between the correct and erroneous lines and the proper handling of the two different types of contradictions, tens of millions of workers have paid attention to the line, the general situation, the Party spirit, unity and discipline, thus insuring the smooth development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and that to learn from Tach'ing in industry.

The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. "The unity of the whole class and the whole nation can be achieved only through the unity of the Communist Party." To strengthen the unity of the working class, it is necessary to strengthen the unity of the Party, the ties between the Party and the masses, and the centralized leadership of the Party. Learning from Tach'ing in industry is a major issue in successfully running socialist enterprises according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This cannot be put merely under the care of production departments, but must be put under the leadership of Party committees and placed on their agenda as an important item for constant discussion and unified planning. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." In strengthening the Party's centralized leadership, the most fundamental thing is to carry out leadership in the correct ideological and political line. To this end, Party committees at all level must first of all encourage serious reading and study and achieve unity in thinking, policy, plans, command and action on the basis of the principles of Mao Tsetung Thought. Conflict and struggle between different ideas often occurs within the Party. In the course of the movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry, there may also be different views as to how to develop it. This then requires Party committees at all levels to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's and the Party Central Committee's directives, and to unfold an active ideological struggle so as to let all kinds of opinions to be presented at the table and to achieve unity of views through adequate discussion. When the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius started, some comrades failed to understand clearly the connection between that movement and the movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry, and were worried lest they could not do well in both. After studying Chairman Mao's teachings and the Party Central Committee's directives, they quickly realized the nature, aim and significance of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, rid themselves of worries, and put the relationship between the two movements in the correct perspective, thereby strengthening their leadership over the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and the movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry.

Since learning from Tach'ing in industry is a profound revolution, it will surely meet with sabotage by the class enemy and interference from old ideas. Faced with the struggle, leaders at all levels must have a firm principled stand and proletarian Party spirit. A conscientious dialectical materialist has nothing to fear. Only one who dares to lead and struggle can uphold the Party's line, principles and policies and carry out the Party's centralized leadership. Through criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the "doctrine of the mean" peddled by Lin Piao and Confucius has been roundly criticized. This has greatly helped leading cadres of some enterprises in overcoming the idea of hesitating to struggle against the class enemy and to criticize erroneous tendencies. Because the cadres lead the masses

to roundly criticize Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, resolutely attack the sabotage activities of the class enemy, criticize capitalist tendencies, greatly commend the advanced units and individuals who have emerged in the movement to learn from Tach'ing, enthusiastically support and foster socialist new things, and seriously sum up and popularize new experiences in learning from Tach'ing, the Party's centralized leadership has been further consolidated and strengthened.

Leading squads must adhere to the "three-must, three-don'ts" principle before they can operate socialist enterprises well. Experiences have proved that where the leading squad persists in the Marxist principle, sets an example by itself, and takes the lead in building socialism, there revolution and production are carried out with success, and where the leading squad has not freed itself from the influence of the revisionist line and, while paying lip service to revolution, sits high above and divorces itself from the masses, there revolution and production are not carried out well. The Party Committee of the Second Light Industrial Bureau of Tientsin Municipality, in the course of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and the movement to learn from Tach'ing, has given attention to the revolutionization of the office and gained useful experience. In the matter of learning from Tach'ing, its members persist in "turning to three things" (the basic level, the masses and production) and "doing five things on the spot" (political work, production command, designing work, logistics supply, and livelihood services on the spot). They frequently go to the first line of revolution and production to study, criticize and labor together with the masses. This has resulted in not only changing the mentality of the cadres but also in cementing the ties between cadres and the masses and between the higher and lower levels. It has also resulted in having the Party's line, principles and policies implemented faster and better among the masses, in discovering and solving actual problems promptly, and in effectively propelling the development of revolution and production.

Under the impetus of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the movement to learn from Taching in industry has yielded some new experience, but it has also raised many new problems in respect to leadership work in the enterprises. In 1975, we must take further steps to strengthen study, sum up experience seriously, carry forward past achievements, overcome shortcomings, do a good job of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, and deepen the movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry, so as to win new victories in both revolution and production.

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Work Out New Plans, Advance from Victory to Victory

by

the Party Branch of Shashihyü Production Brigade,
Tsunhua Hsien, Hopei

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

1974, a militant year, has passed. In the past year Shashihyü, like other rural villages throughout the country, flourished with vigor. In response to the call of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we criticized Lin Piao and Confucius, fought in unity, and pushed the mass movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture" to develop penetratingly. The cadres and commune members heightened their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, greatly changed their outlook, mastered the Party's basic line further, and achieved a new increase in farm production. Our per-mow grain yield averaged more than 900 catties as against a little over 800 catties in 1973. Our total grain output reached 700,000 catties, 13 percent more than in 1973. In addition, our brigade harvested 280,000 catties of nuts and fruit and planted over 20,000 trees. Animal husbandry also showed great progress. This was followed by a new upsurge in capital construction on the farm.

At the end of last year, the brigade Party branch mobilized the commune members to sum up their work in revolution and production and commend a large number of new people and new deeds emerging in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to look ahead to the new year. Beginning with summing up the results of work, the Party branch conducted an open-door rectification campaign. In the course of summing up and discussion, the cadres and the masses offered many good proposals to overcome past shortcomings and to achieve still better results in future, displaying a high spirit and militant will. Everyone said joyously: Nothing is better than socialism, and nothing is more important than the line. In 1975, the last year of the state's fourth 5-year plan, we the poor and lower-middle peasants of Shashihyü, by taking the pace-setting Tachai brigade as our example, are determined to carry forward the spirit of the "foolish old man" and advance from victory to victory along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In the new year we must keep to the Party's basic line and carry forward the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a broad, deep-going and sustained manner, concentrating on it as a matter of prime importance. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a powerful motive force in developing the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. We can stick to the socialist road and orientation, sweep away the obstacles to the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and promote a more rapid development in agriculture only if we continue to grasp the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and deepen the criticism of revisionism, capitalism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Some people felt that after the great cultural revolution and the criticism of revisionism, the two-road struggle had ceased to exist in our Shashihyü. This idea is wrong. As a matter of fact, this struggle has never stopped in the past and will go on in the future. Particularly in times of natural calamities,

capitalist tendencies may often emerge. In 1971, a typhoon destroyed more than a hundred thousand catties of fruit and uprooted several hundred fruit trees. This was followed by a dry spell lasting for several weeks. At that time some people proposed to halt the engineering projects to remove the hills and build farmland and to use the horse-drawn carts for transport to earn some cash. In 1972, a serious drought struck, and in autumn a typhoon again destroyed more than 10,000 catties of apples. Some people then suggested that we send no apples to the state purchasing station and sell them in the vicinity of T'angshan for more cash. Then, some people opposed using the tractors to turn up and improve the soil to expand the acreage of wheat and wanted them for transport business. Using these facts as the basis, we unfolded a big debate that lasted for more than 20 consecutive days within the leading group and among the Party and League members and commune members. This enabled us to tell right from wrong in line and stuck to the socialist road. How could one say that the two-road struggle had disappeared? Of course, this struggle differs in form in different places and units, and following the continuous consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the continuous development of the collective economy, the characteristics of class struggle may change. But struggle exists just the same. We must persist in using the Party's basic line in observing and analyzing problems before we can cope with the development of the situation of class struggle, and no matter what form capitalism and revisionism may take, we shall be able to discern them and fight them victoriously.

The Party's basic line tells us that a fairly long time is needed to settle the struggle between the two classes and two roads. We have arrived at a deeper understanding of this through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. From the historical experiences of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole, we see that all decadent and declining reactionaries, past and present, have favored restoration and regression and opposed revolution and progress. Only more than 20 years have passed since socialist system--a brand new social system--was established in our country, so it is impossible to sweep away at one stroke all the old ideas left from the centuries-old system of private ownership. Since the proletarian world outlook is diametrically set against the bourgeois world outlook, if we depart from the proletarian world outlook, we would fall prey to bourgeois world outlook, forget the collective while caring for only ourselves, and think of capitalism, not socialism. If people are not liberated from the bondage of the concept of private ownership, their socialist enthusiasm cannot be brought into full play. Having thus raised our understanding of the protracted nature of class struggle, we have since adopted different approaches in dealing with some problems. In the past some people were keen on selling things on the free market; at that time we saw only that this would affect collective production without thinking that it might corrupt people's minds as well. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we raised our thinking and realized that selling things for a few pennies more and doing a few hours less of work in the fields was a small thing, but it became a major problem when people were attracted to the concept of private ownership and ran farther away from the socialist road. This was a big problem that must be tackled. After meticulous ideological and political work, most commune members raised their thinking and voluntarily

sold to the state even the fruit they grew in their own courtyards. Only by so doing, they said, could they break with the concept of private ownership. This shows that we can check the erosion of traditional ideology and unify the thoughts of people in the socialist direction and unite them to strive for victory only if we continue to grasp the line and major problems and carry out ideological and political work to eliminate the interference of capitalism and revisionism. If we allow the capitalist and revisionist ideas to spread unchecked and do not grasp the class struggle in the ideological field, people will become confused in their thinking and a market will open up for evil ideas. In building socialism, it is necessary not only to remove barren hills, but, more important still, to dig up the traditional concepts of the exploiting classes. To remove the hills, we must first remove old ideas. To use the Party's basic line as the key link in grasping the two-roads struggle and make a success of criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius--this is a long-term task of ideological construction in adhering to the Tachai road and developing socialist agriculture and also a long-term measure for occupying the whole of the rural position with Marxism.

After studying ways to improve the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius in 1975, our Party branch is prepared to take the following steps. First, principal attention is to be focused on study and criticism. Party members and the masses will be organized to study "Communist Manifesto," "Critique of the Gotha Program," "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and other Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works. Only by holding the ideological weapon tight can we deepen the criticism of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in close connection with current struggle. To make a success of study and criticism, it will be necessary to improve the building of a theoretical contingent among poor and lower-middle peasants and to operate evening political schools well. Second, the masses must be urged to persist in the class struggle in the ideological field and launch an attack on all kinds of traditional concepts. It will be necessary to consolidate the spare time literary and art propaganda team, run the library well, and extensively unfold such activities as singing songs in the revolutionary model plays and revolutionary songs, telling revolutionary stories and creating revolutionary poems and ballads. We should use the proletarian new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits to take over the ideological and cultural positions in the rural areas and consolidate them. Third, leading members of the Party branch should move in the van of the movement, take the lead in studying and criticizing and in participating in revolutionary cultural activities in connection with reality. We must analyze problems and transform our world outlook with the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method so as to make our thinking abreast with the developing situation and gain the initiative in directing the movement.

In the new year, we must also take the Party's basic line as the key link, the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as the motive force and Tachai as the example in going all out to build capital construction projects on the farms centering on water and soil. The great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has already generated and is continuing to generate the

vast socialist enthusiasm of the masses. Such enthusiasm must be adequately assessed and properly organized and directed. In 1975, we are prepared to concentrate forces on undertaking three capital farm projects. The first is to build a ten-li-long trunk canal round the waist of mountains to draw the existing pump wells and ponds and all the small and big ditches into an irrigation, drainage and water storage network that covers all land on the nine hills and in 17 gullies. It is required that paths, lined with trees, be built along the canal. When completed, this canal will be able to drain away flood water and to store more than 5,000 cubic meters of water. In case of absence of rain, underground water may be drawn and used in a rational way. In this way, it will be possible to insure timely irrigation to the 400 mow of fruit trees and the 1,000 mow of farmland below the canal in order to achieve high and stable yields, and at the same time to relieve them of the threat of mountain torrents. Second, we will continue to transform the hill slopes still further so as to pave the way for mechanized farming and reach high standards in irrigation in 1976. We will first work on 400 mow in 1975 and then another 400 mow in 1976. We will remove all the rocks lying in the fields and thicken the soil layer to over one foot and two inches, and see to it that during irrigation water is prevented from running off the fields and that tractors can be used in the terraced fields on the mountains. Third, we will vigorously develop pig breeding and set up a pig breeding farm and collect more farm manure. The earth and stone work involved in the three projects will be equivalent to the total for 1973 and 1974 combined. The amount of work to be done will surpass that of the whole of the first ten-year plan of the brigade.

In discussing the plan, as in the past, we waged a struggle against conservative ideas and the world outlook of the incompetent, lazy and coward people. Why is it necessary to wage such a struggle? This is not strange. The advanced and the backward always exist in comparison with each other. Where there are foolish old men, there are wise old men. This time the "wise old men" did not say that stony land could not be plowed, trees could not survive on the rocks, tunnels could not be dug through the mountains, and wells could not be sunk. For all this has become reality. Instead, they said since the fields of the village had been improved, wells sunk and good harvests won, they should rest content with all this. But the majority rejected this attitude, saying: In making revolution, there is only a starting point but no ending. Mankind always goes on developing, and so is the world of nature. Things never remain at the same level. We have gone through two decades, during which more projects have been completed, more experiences have been gained, and our thinking has kept improving. We can do better than we did in the past. The revolution urges us on from victory to victory. Perhaps some worry whether the construction of these projects will interfere with farm production. True, there is a contradiction. But it can be resolved once the masses are fully aroused and appropriate arrangements are made. Therefore, in discussing the plan, everyone said: Like Tachai, we must fight a people's war and combine the mass movement with the professional force. Before snowfall, we must mainly clear the sites for the canal and the pigsties and make the rocks on the 400 mow of land surface. After the snowfall and before the thaw, we should be engaged in collecting stones, carrying sand and preparing materials, and the exposed rocks in the fields should be removed by dynamite. After the thaw in the spring, we should put most manpower to plowing and sowing and organize the technical force to continue building

the canal and roads. Soil should be improved without delaying spring sowing and the canal should be built section by section and fully completed before wheat sowing in the autumn so that it can be put to work before the year's end. Now, preparations for the planned canal and pig farm are going full steam ahead. With sites for the two projects cleared and ready, the cadres and peasants are busy quarrying rocks and transporting earth and sand to the scene. Such determination and zeal makes us realize more clearly that while seeing the increase of engineering work, we must all the more see the changes in people's outlook, and that when the masses have awakened and gained more experience, they should and can do more and better things.

While undertaking capital construction on the farms with great efforts, we must not neglect the problem of scientific farming and giving full scope to the existing engineering facilities. Formerly the village was a place where "soil is as precious as pearls and water as dear as edible oil." But now the people enjoy much better farming conditions, with water reaching up to the hills. Output has gone up. However, the rate of utilization of water and soil is still not high enough. Thanks to the scientific experiments carried out over the past few years, two crops are grown a year. After three years of trial planting, winter wheat sown in the mountain area and under the fruit trees gave a per-mow yield of 500 catties in 1974. In the new year, we shall continue with our experiments for better cultivation, better field management and better seed breeding. In respect to rational and economical use of water, we must continue with the experiment in irrigation by spraying so as to make more effective use of existing water resources. We think that, just as it is possible to continue tapping potential and make full use of existing manpower, material resources, equipment and investment to increase output in industry, so in agriculture it should be possible to fully use the existing production conditions and tap the potential to grow more grain. As long as we persist in our fight against the force of old habits, idealism and metaphysics, seriously implement the "eight-word charter" in agriculture, learn from Tachai's farming experience, and do not lose the "pauper's" spirit and the fighting will of the "foolish old man in removing mountains," we can certainly achieve what we set out to do.

In line with the principle "take grain as the key link and insure an all-round development" and in accordance with its specific conditions, the production brigade has also made plans for developing forestry, livestock breeding and sideline production in 1975. It is also prepared to purchase two hand-pulled tractors and service farm machines with our income from sideline occupations and to strive to speed up farm mechanization and promote a more substantial development of agriculture.

The present excellent situation has confronted our Party branch with higher demands. In the new year, we will still have to build up the leading squad to make it more revolution-conscious. First, we must uphold the philosophy of struggle and develop in depth the struggle between two lines and two ideologies. Several years ago, while leading the masses to learn from Tachai, we were faced with the obstruction and attack by the Right conservative ideas, this being a reflection within the leading squad of the class struggle in society. As we unfolded an active ideological

struggle in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we arrived at unity and raised our standards in the midst of struggle. This struggle will still exist in the future. Though the form of struggle may change, the struggle will still center on the question of whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road. We must correctly understand the laws of class and production struggles in the historical period of socialism and adhere to the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." Like the Tachai brigade, we must wage resolute and thorough struggle against revisionism, capitalism and other erroneous notions. Second, we must keep to the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor. This is a matter of fundamental importance under the socialist system. Once, we thought that being cadres, it was our responsibility to find the ways and means to do things and that this was far more important than taking part in labor together with the masses. It was only after we criticized the fallacies of "the highest are wise and the lowest stupid" and "those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others--peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao--in the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius that we saw how wrong we were. This showed that traditional concepts of social gradation still lingered in our minds. For this reason, it is necessary to continue to criticize in depth all the preposterous theories of slighting manual labor and despising the laboring people as advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius; to raise the consciousness of cadres in taking part in collective productive labor, and to display the revolutionary spirit of enduring great hardship and building socialism in a big way. Third, we must improve the style of leadership, make penetrating investigation and study, persist in staying in selected points of the brigade to work, and refrain from issuing orders from the office or exercising command blindly. We must realistically go among the masses and into reality to settle problems where they are found--in the fields or in the k'ang. At the same time, we must also show concern for the livelihood of the masses, pay attention to methods of work, and protect the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. Fourth, we must persist in open-door rectification campaigns, modestly listen to the masses' criticism and suggestions, accept their supervision, guard against arrogance and conceit, and always preserve the style of humility and prudence and non-conceit and non-rashness. We must continue to place the ideological and political line in proper perspective and lead the masses to advance from victory to victory.

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Rely On the Worker Masses to Run Enterprises Well

by

the Party Committee of Shanghai Wrist Watch Factory

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

Amid the upsurge of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have ushered in the year 1975 full of confidence.

In our factory, the concept of running enterprises well through reliance on the worker masses has been deeply imprinted on people's minds. The worker masses' enthusiasm and creativeness have been further developed in the factory. In 1974, following consecutive production increases over past years, we again overfulfilled the state plan, with total wrist watch output chalking up a 6.1 percent increase over 1973 and labor productivity rising by 6.6 percent. Today, wrist watch output by this factory is greater than that of three factories of comparable size before the great proletarian cultural revolution. Simultaneously with completing the production task, we also completed in one year's time preparatory work for switchover to new products that would have taken two or three years in the past, making it possible to produce more smoothly new watches according to a new structural design this year. The quality of watches also shows a steady improvement, with the standard of precision rising from the second to the first class.

The practice of the past year has once again proved that so long as we seriously carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our enterprise can be run better and better to make its due contributions to socialist revolution and construction.

Reliance or non-reliance on the worker masses in running enterprises reflects two fundamentally different lines--proletarian and bourgeois--in running enterprises. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, through the criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the broad masses of workers in our factory realized that to run a socialist enterprise well, we must carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, consolidate the leadership of the proletariat, consolidate and develop the socialist relations of production, and establish a series of rely-on-the-masses-to-run-enterprise systems in respect to technical democracy, democratic planning, democratic management, etc. Led by the Party, the rank and file deal with various tasks as masters of the State, and the outlook of the enterprise keeps on changing while its production goes up steadily. But the once-criticized old ideas and old styles are still now and then reflected in the actions of some cadres. When work goes on smoothly, they like to "speak with authority," unwilling to go deep into the midst of the masses to listen to their opinions. When work hits a snag, they pay more attention to the backward aspects of the masses than to their positive factors. Some comrades even try to re-introduce masterial incentives and measures to restrict and control the masses at the first opportunity. These facts show that without grasping education in ideology and political line, there is the danger of enterprise management going astray.

During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the worker masses of our factory criticized Lin Piao's revisionist line and such reactionary fallacies as "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid." In light of reality, they exposed the problems of the factory Party committee in regard to relying on the worker masses to run the enterprise. To make a clear distinction between the right and wrong lines, we called separate discussion meetings, forums and debate meetings on matters on which more opinions were raised by the masses, with the aim of solving some fundamental problems about management of socialist enterprises in regard to integration of theory and practice. With the ideological line rectified, the enterprise management showed marked improvement. Cadres spent more time in labor than they did in previous years, and consulted the masses on matters of common concern. Such shortcomings as the enterprise management system being too complex and the administrative structure being insufficiently simplified were also overcome. In 1974, to prepare for switchover to production of wrist watch of new structure in 1975, we had to fix well over 2,000 sets of technological devices, a very heavy task. But due to full reliance on the masses and the promotion of management and technical democracy, this task was executed not only fast but well. Reviewing the work of the past year, everyone said with deep feeling: "The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has further criticized the revisionist line, eliminated the pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and displayed more fully the worker masses' socialist activism."

In relying on the worker masses to run socialist enterprises well, we must promote the advanced. When the most active part of the masses is supported by the leadership, the proletarian just spirit will be called into play. When the masses work in a cheerful spirit, work will be done vigorously. In socialist enterprises, new things among the masses exist not only in advanced units but also in backward units. If we shut our eyes to these new things or see them without giving them energetic support but let them take their own course, the mass enthusiasm would be dampened and positive factors might possibly be turned into negative ones. The punching-pressing workshop producing watch covers and cases in our factory had relatively poor production conditions, with high labor intensity. It had long been a weak link. The output of watch covers and cases used to lag behind the production of other workshops. It was often blamed and its workers were considered backward. But the fact is that in this workshop there were many advanced examples. After the start of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, it was the workers of this workshop who posted the big-character paper saying "we workers must take care of not only production but also the line" and citing a number of typical instances to criticize the leadership for its failure to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line seriously. This big-character paper was strongly worded and pungent, clearcut, analytical and persuasive, proving vividly that after the great proletarian cultural revolution the worker masses had considerably raised their consciousness as masters of the state and that it was not the masses who were backward, it was the leaders whose thinking was backward and who failed to see the advanced deeds among the masses.

We gave vigorous publicity to this incident throughout the plant, and the mass activism soared as a result. Previously when this workshop was asked to increase output, some cadres would stretch out their hands and ask for more manpower and equipment. Today, this workshop has not only done relatively well in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius but also realized more technical innovations. It has become a relatively advanced workshop in the factory. These facts educated us greatly. To widely popularize advanced ideas and advanced experiences of the masses, we have constantly commended, at on-the-spot meetings or by issuing brief bulletins, those departments, groups and individuals doing relatively well in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and in grasping revolution and promoting production. This has enabled the advanced experiences and deeds among the masses to be popularized, greatly encouraging revolution and production in our factory.

While the advanced among the masses should be promoted, what attitude should we take toward the backward? Some masses are in a temporary backward state mainly because they have been more deeply influenced by bourgeois thinking, have a low consciousness and lack the sense as masters of the house. With regard to this section of the masses, we must fervently help them to gradually get rid of the influence of bourgeois thinking and have a firm faith in their ability to become advanced. If we consider this part of the masses unworthy of being relied on and control them rigidly or think that material incentive is the only way to settle their problems, we would actually place ourselves in opposition to the masses. Before the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius we had had such lessons. A small number of youths newly admitted to the factory were rather lax in labor discipline. The cadres of some workshops dealt with them rashly in an attempt to get them behave well. Yet the results achieved were not satisfactory and the problem remained unsolved. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius the workers criticized this way of doing things. Nevertheless, some cadres failed to see the light. As the workers said, the problem was how to supervise them. Should we rely on elaborate political-ideological work or on administrative coercion? Should we rely on the broad masses to help the few to raise consciousness or rely on a few cadres to "control" people? Everyone set forth the facts and reasoned things out. On the high plane of the struggle between two ways of thinking and two lines, we saw this problem clearly. The old workers, recalling the past and comparing it with the present, explained why the eight-hour system was laid down and said that this was one of the victorious achievements of revolutionary struggle. In the past, to intensify their exploitation, the capitalist often compelled the workers to work for 10, 12 or even over 14 hours a day. Many workers lost their jobs and suffered from hunger and cold. Countless were forced to die. Further, our labor today is fundamentally different from that in the past. We work no longer for the capitalists but for the revolution, for the socialist cause of our working class and the broad masses of the people. This is not just the responsibility but also the right of the working class. We must cherish our labor time and strive to make greater contributions to revolution. Through such discussions the masses educated themselves, with good results. Some youths who were originally lax in discipline have vastly improved over the past year. Some have become backbone elements in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and pacesetters in grasping revolution and promoting

production; some have joined the theoretical groups in their workshops, while others have been admitted into the League.

In order to fully rely on the masses, we must strengthen Party leadership. Chairman Mao says, "Our objective is to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both a unified will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." The leadership of our socialist enterprise should advance toward this goal. Only by fully arousing the masses and strengthening Party leadership can we create such a political situation. But on this fundamental problem, some vague ideas also exist among some of our comrades. They often set reliance on the masses against stronger Party leadership, and vice versa. They fear that failure to do both well would adversely affect the quality of products;or they dare not lead the masses but let them do whatever they please when it is stressed that the masses must be depended on and democracy developed. These two cases are both one-sided and erroneous and cannot attain the goal of relying on the worker masses to run a socialist enterprise well.

Without a high degree of democracy, there cannot possibly be a high degree of centralization. Without a high degree of centralization, it is impossible to establish a socialist economy. Democracy and centralization are a unity of opposites. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of our factory have developed the idea of being the masters of the house and practiced democratic management and democratic planning as well as technical democracy. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our various tasks have been done in a more lively and vigorous manner. Once there appear different views among the workers and cadres over production techniques, these are solved at discussion meetings and technical debate meetings. Thus, our basic-level Party organizations are enabled to pool together the correct views of the masses and do the work well. Lest they should commit the mistake of suppressing revolution with production, some cadres of the factory in charge of production dare not grasp production or do their job timidly. In view of this, the workers take the initiative to talk to them or write on them. Beating drums and gongs, some even go to the factory Party committee to ask for work and with the request that leadership at various levels grasp the various tasks in real earnest. Facts eloquently show that with socialist democracy fully developed and the masses really aroused, the leadership of the Party can be further strengthened.

Party leadership is exercised through Party organizations at various levels. To exercise leadership over various tasks, the Party organizations of our enterprise must be good at explaining the Party's line and policies to the masses, so that they can be transformed into the conscious action of the broad masses. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a Party branch secretary of a workshop was criticized in many big-character posters for his estrangement from the masses. Some people even asked the Party committee to make him stand aside. What was to be done? We made a serious investigation and felt that the spearhead of struggle should be directed against Lin Piao and Confucius. Although this Party branch secretary had shortcomings and made mistakes and should humbly accept the

criticism of the masses, his mistakes were no greater than contradictions among the people, and therefore the stress should be put on educating him. We had a heart-to-heart talk with some of those workers who had more to say against this cadre, and together with them studied Chairman Mao's teaching about the need to correctly distinguish between and handle the two different types of contradictions and the need to adopt the policy "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the sickness in order to save the patient" toward those comrades who have committed mistakes. Through study, it was agreed that a cadre like him should be allowed to receive reeducation and to raise his awareness in struggle and should not be made to stand aside. Later, this cadre examined his own mistakes and was forgiven by the masses. Re-united with the masses, he joined them in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. The masses are more satisfied with this way of handling things. The incident made us understand that only by turning the Party's line and policies over to the masses and letting them be grasped by the broad masses can a vigorous political situation be really created.

At present, our factory, like the rest of the whole country, is faced with an excellent situation. This is a vivid sign of the deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and a result of relying on the worker masses in running the enterprise. To develop this excellent situation and to win still greater victories in revolution and production, in the 4th quarter of 1974 we aroused the masses to work out a 1975-1980 long-term program. The broad masses of the whole factory, filled with boundless enthusiasm and full of fighting spirit, are determined to unfold the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner, to further raise their consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to seriously sum up the experience of relying on the masses in running an enterprise, and to do well in all kinds of work in the new year.

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The Party's Basic Line Guides Us to March Forward Triumphantly

by

Party Committee of Shuiyuan Commune, Yingk'ou Hsien, Liaoning

(Hung-Ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution and under the guidance of the Party's basic line laid down by Chairman Mao for the socialist historical period, we members of Shuiyuan people's commune have been carrying on a penetrating rural struggle between the two roads, continuously criticizing capitalist tendencies and resolutely following the socialist road. This has greatly changed the face of the entire commune.

Our commune is situated at the lower reaches of the Liao River. Before liberation, it was just one big piece of poor land that suffered floods in nine years out of ten. "No harvest, nothing but famine. The poor man starves to death at the feet of the blood-sucking moneylender." These words portray our village as it was in the old society. After liberation, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, the people of Shuiyuan embarked upon the broad road to socialism. It was, in particular, through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius that the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in general further strengthened their determination to resolutely follow the socialist path, and launched a mass movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture" in breadth and depth. Today, the whole commune is blooming with prosperity and happiness. Our commune constructed a huge dike more than 60 li long, putting an end to the disastrous floods the Liao River used to bring to us all those years. We also built 51 power-driven irrigation and drainage stations and irrigation and drainage channels with a total length of over 1,740 li, which are linked up to form a vast and effective irrigation-drainage network. Some 76,000 mow of wasteland were turned into fields through reform of saline soil. The whole commune now has 52 large and medium-size tractors, 12 trucks and many other kinds of farming machinery. Plowing, threshing and rice hulling have been mechanized. With the improvement of production conditions, our grain yield has been increasing with each passing year. In 1968, the average grain yield per mow in the entire commune equalled that south of the Yangtse; it increased to 970 catties in 1971 and 1,028 catties in 1973. That year [1973], we sold 48 million catties of grain to the state, tantamount to the gross 1965 output, with each person contributing an average of 1,280 catties of marketable grain to the state. Although 1974 was marked by numerous calamities, grain production still surpassed that of 1973. Forestry, cattle breeding, sideline production, fishery, education and health work also developed substantially. The socialist collective economy continued to be consolidated and expanded, with accumulated public funds amounting to 14 million yuan and collective grain reserves totalling 12 million catties. The life of the commune members continued to improve day by day. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants say:

"When we drink water, we should think of its source. Under Chairman Mao's guidance, we are taking the socialist road in larger strides."

Through practical struggle, we have come to understand deeply that whether to take the socialist road or the capitalist road is the principal problem to be solved. To step up the construction of a new socialist village and to follow the socialist road with unswerving determination, we must fully appreciate the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the two roads, firmly adhere to the Party's basic line, and make frequent criticism of capitalist tendencies.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have repudiated the revisionist line, and have worked actively for the common socialist cause, thus greatly accelerating the development of the revolution and production in our commune. But for a time in 1972, while criticizing Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary crimes, as we failed to perceive the ultra-Right nature of his revisionist line, we relaxed the political and ideological work, with the result that some people began to take the wrong road and some production brigades began to work on their own in sideline production. There were signs of "work-points put in command." One of the brigades, for instance, repudiated the sinister stuff such as San-tzu I-pao [the extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the individual households] and "four big freedoms" [freedom to buy or sell land, to hire labor, to issue usurious loans and to engage in business] in the course of the cultural revolution. It struck hard at the class enemies and stamped out the evils of capitalist tendencies. As a result, grain production shot up from 400-500 catties per mow to reach that south of the Yangtse. But things came to a drastic change in 1972 when grain per-mow yield dropped and collective production was affected by the reoccurrence of capitalist tendencies due to negligence of the two-road struggle. The cadres and masses of the brigade took steps to correct this and to redirect their work along socialist lines through in-depth criticism and repudiation of Lin Piao's revisionist line and by combining this with practical problems and summing up the experience and lessons they had learned from this struggle. As a result, grain yield per mow went up again to over 880 catties in 1973.

The facts of class struggle raised a thought-provoking problem: Why is it that things that had been repudiated in the great cultural revolution returned? What is the most fundamental thing to do in developing socialist agriculture? During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, in the light of the reality of the two-road struggle in the rural areas, we reviewed Chairman Mao's instructions and the Party's basic line, and deepened our criticism of Lin Piao's crimes of patterning after the Confucian doctrine of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" in a vain attempt to revive capitalism. We also reviewed the history of the struggle between the two roads in our commune since the founding of the People's Republic. Every step we took on the way to socialism, from the setting up of mutual aid teams to cooperatives to people's communes, was accompanied by a struggle between the two classes and two lines, centering around the issue of which road to take--socialist or capitalist.

The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and greatly consolidated the socialist stronghold in the rural areas. But a handful of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists are still around and constantly try to change the regime. Moreover, spontaneous capitalist forces still exist in our rural area. If we fail to correctly understand the struggle between the two classes and two roads in the socialist historical period, and if we slacken class struggle and political-ideological work, capitalism will grow and spread unchecked, and we will depart from the socialist path. Through political studies and combining this with the practical class struggle in our village, our comrades have come to understand deeply that of all things in our rural work, the two-road struggle is the most fundamental.

Over the past few years, we have firmly adhered to the basic line of the Party and actively engaged in promoting ideological and political line education as a regular task, instilling socialist ideas into the peasants and criticizing capitalist tendencies. We set up in the commune a group of advanced models in following the socialist path with unflinching determination and worked to transform backward units. We conducted lively line education among the masses. We often analyzed the current situation and trends of the rural class and line struggles and organized mass criticism. We struck at the class enemy's subversive activities wherever they were found. We launched mass criticism against capitalist tendencies and all ill practices. We constantly studied and summarized the laws and characteristics of rural two-road struggle, actively guiding cadres and the masses to fight with initiative. When we won victories in struggle or reaped a bumper farm harvest, we would guard against feeling conceited, think of the protracted nature of the struggle, and keep on fighting. When agriculture was hit by natural calamities or when we were correcting certain shortcomings and mistakes in our work, we would reinforce our determination to follow the socialist orientation and take measures to prevent the appearance of capitalist tendencies. As a result, we managed to help raise the consciousness of the cadres and masses in combating capitalist tendencies and further consolidated the socialist stronghold in the rural areas.

The rural two-road struggle manifests itself in many ways, with different characteristics in different periods. With the continuous development of the collective economy of our commune, the struggle between two roads is also reflected in certain aspects of the collective economy. In the development of agricultural production, for instance, there arose the question of whether to persist in the policy of "overall development with grain as the key link" or to "lay emphasis on sideline production at the expense of agriculture." In developing the brigade's "five small" industries, the issue was whether priority should be given to serving agricultural production or to money-making. The problem that arose from income distribution was whether the interests of the state, the collective and the individual were properly cared for simultaneously. In implementing "cooperation between factory and commune," the problem was one of whether it should proceed from the need to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and promote the development of industrial and agricultural production. The correct solution of all these issues demanded close adherence

to the Party's line and policies. Failure to do this would result in complete deviation from the socialist road. For example, some people said: "As long as we work for the collective, anything we do is justified." This is a perfect illustration of their failure to distinguish between the two roads in the development of the collective economy.

In order to carry out education on the correct ideological and political line among the cadres and masses so as to enable them to distinguish between the two roads in the development of collective economy, we analyzed two typical cases in the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. In one production brigade some cadres in 1972 transferred the most able-bodied men to the "money-making" sideline industries on the pretext of "increasing the collective revenue." But the result was that while their total income showed no increase, the rice per mow yield dropped to 750 catties from 930 catties in the previous year. In 1973, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify work style, they criticized the capitalist tendency to "stressing sideline production and slighting agriculture." This enable the cadres and masses to distinguish between the right and wrong lines and to concentrate on agriculture, while developing sideline production according to the local conditions. The result was that, while rice per-mow yield exceeded a thousand catties, the income of the commune members rose markedly. In the other case, the farm machinery repair and assembly plant of one brigade was not operated for the benefit of farm production. The bad elements took the opportunity to sneak into it and tried to lead it to the wrong track. Later, the brigade saw through the class enemy's plot and, drawing a lesson from this struggle, corrected the factory's course, enabling it to make contributions to agricultural production. From these two examples, it can be readily seen that the question of how to develop the collective economy correctly also involves the issue of which direction and path to follow. To depart from the socialist course in the name of "serving the interests of the collective" is to give the class enemy an opportunity to stir up the ill winds of capitalism. In order to keep the development of the collective economy well along the socialist course, we have consistently carried out education among the cadres and masses on loving their country and collective and on how to correctly handle the relations between the state, the collective and the individual. More important economic activities of the brigades are first discussed by the members themselves to see whether the plans are in keeping with the socialist course. If they discover any deviation from the socialist course, they would criticize and reject it. They say: "We must examine what we are going to do in the context of the line." During summer hoeing last year, some cadres in one brigade wanted to send some people to the city to work on contract. When the masses found out this, they immediately criticized and rejected the idea.

Capitalist tendencies in the rural areas have their class origin and an ideological foundation. In order to follow the socialist road with perseverance, we must dig out the ideological roots of capitalist tendencies by carrying out a penetrating ideological revolution, criticizing bourgeois ideology, repudiating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and doing away with all traditional concepts. Over the past few years, owing to the

continuous development of production and the steady build-up of the socialist collective economy, the living standard of the commune members has also been steadily on the rise. This relative affluency caused some cadres and commune members to be satisfied with present conditions, to seek leisure and extravagance, and their spirit of hard work and struggle began to fall off. At this juncture, a handful of class enemies began to spread such decadent ideas of the exploiting class as "when a man is born into this world, eat and wear, nothing more." They tried to corrupt and poison the minds of people. In view of this problem, we repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's instructions and came to understand more deeply than ever how destructive the ideology of the exploiting class is to the socialist economy. We must firmly carry on class struggle in the ideological realm; if not we will fail to consolidate the socialist stronghold in the rural areas. So, we led the cadres and masses to criticize such Confucian fallacies as "the little man knows only gain" and such ideas of the exploiting class as "eat and wear." With the Party's basic line as our guide, we kept up our education program, helping the cadres and masses to analyze and criticize the various wrong tendencies that occurred in various periods. It was an education movement aimed at implanting in the minds of the cadres and masses the significance of class struggle, revolutionary traditions and arduous work and struggle. To this end, we often sponsored mass meetings and other activities to recall the past sufferings and contrast them with today's happiness. Through these activities people were inspired and taught never to forget the miserable life in the old society or the arduous and industrious life in the early days of the cooperative movement. This revolution in thought stimulated people's socialist enthusiasm. Since last winter, more than five thousand people from the entire commune braving the cold weather have been engaged in the battle to improve the 50-li long irrigation and drainage canal system to better meet the needs of further developing the socialist agriculture.

During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have studied the experience of Hsiaochinchuang in Tientsin, further adjusting family and courtyard study groups that have been set up for years. The various brigades have generally established evening political schools. Both cadres and masses have been seriously organized to study the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and class struggle and to apply them to serve current class struggle. We mobilized the masses to make deep and penetrating criticism of the feudal clannish concepts, the three cardinal rules and five constant virtues, superiority of man over woman, the doctrine of mean, Heavenly will and other decadent ideas and doctrines of Confucius and Mencius espoused by the exploiting class. A contingent of poor and lower-middle peasant theorists has been organized in the struggle to be the backbone force in keeping to the socialist road. The various brigades have set up cultural rooms and conducted revolutionary cultural and art activities to teach the peasants to sing songs in revolutionary model operas as well as other revolutionary songs. It is through these channels we have disseminated socialist ideas and thoughts, bringing about remarkable changes in the spiritual outlook of the cadres and masses. Today, the cadres and masses are working more and more conscientiously to set up socialist ideas and socialist customs and to build socialism in a big way.

The key to firmly upholding socialism and rejecting capitalism lies in the leading squads taking the lead in carrying out the the Party's basic line and in following the socialist road. To this end, the leading squads themselves must first of all seriously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao constantly improve their ability to tell Marxism from revisionism and socialism from capitalism. In the struggle between the two classes and two lines leaders must be cool-headed, conscientiously carry out the Party's line, principles and policies, and boycott all kinds of wrong ideas and tendencies. During the 1973 autumn distribution, the Party committee of the commune studied "Critique of the Gotha Program," learning that Lassalle's advocacy of "undeducted labor compensation" was purely a bourgeois fallacy. How can workers in a capitalist society obtain "undeducted labor compensation" when the capitalists cannot live without exploitation? Even in the socialist society, where the laboring people are the masters of the state, part of the material wealth they create is retained for expanded re-production and for developing public welfare facilities. Having raised their consciousness to a higher level, the comrades have more conscientiously guided the cadres and masses to correctly handle the relations between the state, the collective and the individual. Many comrades say with deep feeling: "If we do not study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, we will get ourselves lost on the wrong road. The only way to avoid this and to keep ourselves well on the socialist course is to read and study seriously." Today, reading and studying has become part amd parcel of the life of the commune Party committee and the Party branches of the various brigades. We have also trained cadres and Party members on rotation in study classes. In 1974 ten such classes were held and over 700 people were trained. Each year, taking the Party's basic line as the key, we carry out an open-door rectification movement in conjunction with the political movement and the year-end summing up of results of work. Problems and contradictions are exposed and experience and lessons are summed up around the question of what road to take. The masses are also encouraged to comment on the Party branches and Party members. Through these measures, Party building has been strengthened. With greater vigor and strength, and more united than ever, Party organizations at all levels and the large number of Party members are leading the broad masses of peasants to march in great strides along the road to socialism.

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Build a New Countryside in the Struggle between the Two Roads

by

Party Branch of Tinglou Brigade, Pi Hsien, Kiangsu

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

Our Tinglou brigade is located on the banks of the Lao-i River in northern Kiangsu. Many times before the liberation, the river broke its bank and flooded the entire village, destroying its fields. Over half of the land was desolated and covered with sand. The highest grain yield in a good year was no more than a hundred catties per mow. After liberation, production developed and increased. But, owing to Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line which gave rise to grave capitalist tendencies and dissension among the ranks of our cadres and masses, our collective economy developed at a snail's pace, and little progress was made in changing the backward state of the village. Then came the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, during which the cadres and masses rose up to deeply criticize the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and strengthened their solidarity under Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Working in unison and with enthusiasm for the cause of socialism, and following the example of Tachai, in several winters and springs they struggled bravely against nature, digging up and burying the sand beneath the earth. Some 1,400 mow of sandy land were reclaimed and initial improvements were made in production conditions, which gave rise to a substantial rise in grain production for several consecutive years. In 1969, per-mow grain yield reached the "Program" target; in 1970 it surpassed that south of the Yangtse. In 1974, we conquered an exceptionally big flood. After three years of per-mow output exceeding a thousand catties, it increased to 1,500 catties per mow in 1974, eight times that of 1965, while gross output rose by 4½ times. Last year 680,000 catties of grain were sold to the state; this amount was higher than the highest annual record ever attained before the cultural revolution. For the past few years production of cotton, oil-bearing crops and other diversified undertakings has also developed considerably. With the collective economy growing steadily, public funds amount to some 500,000 yuan. 99 tractors and other farm machine were purchased. Today, plowing, threshing, transportation and processing of farm and subsidiary products are basically mechanized or semi-mechanized.

The profound changes in our brigade clearly show that the struggle to eliminate the interference of the revisionist line and use socialism to defeat capitalism can only be won through strengthening our solidarity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They also show that the only way to steadily strengthen the revolutionary unity of the broad masses of the cadres and people under a common goal is by firmly adhering to the socialist road. This is the only way for us to bring their great resources and strength into full play and accelerate our progress in learning from Tachai.

Actually, before the cultural revolution, the leading members of our Party branch had a subjective desire to lead the masses to change the face of Tinglou. However, faced with difficulties, they could just

complain and murmer against Heaven and blame people for lack of unity and cooperation. Then they would lay the blame on poor natural conditions, the deep and enormous layer of sand that covered their land. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, they were sharply criticized by the poor and lower-middle peasants, who said: "With sand in your eyes, how could you ever see the direction and lead us to change nature?" Greatly stirred by their criticism, we summed up the past experiences and found that the main trouble lay in the fact that the leaders in our branch had not been working along a correct ideological and political line. Some comrades, for instance, did not know which was the right way to develop agricultural production. Instead of agriculture, they stressed trading and sideline production. They thought that by making more money in this way, they could tide over the difficulties. Influenced by the "doctrine of the mean," some did nothing about the wrong ideas and tendencies. Some whose class struggle concept was weak lost vigilance against the class enemy's provocations and were even taken in by him. This was why our Party branch's leading members could not work together or united closely with each other. To solve these problems, we studied the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao seriously and a series of directives issued by Chairman Mao during the cultural revolution. In light of realities, we criticized and repudiated the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. We all came to understand ever more deeply that classes and class struggle exist throughout the entire historical stage of socialism, that class struggle in society is bound to be reflected within the Party, and that opposition and struggle between different ideas often occur within the Party. We must firmly uphold the philosophy of struggle, constantly eradicate the influence of the revisionist line, overcome all kinds of non-proletarian thoughts, be ever on guard against the plots of the class enemy to sow the seeds of discord among our ranks. This is the only way to insure the revolutionary unity of the leading squad of the Party branch will stand the test of struggle. Only with a united leading squad as a strong core, can we lead the broad masses to struggle and to win in revolution and production.

On the basis of heightened understanding, we constantly wage an active ideologic struggle concerning the direction and course of our work. We use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to distinguish between right and wrong in order to achieve unity under Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. For example, during reclamation of the sandy wasteland, a committee member of the Party branch, afraid of hardship and difficulties, erroneously thought that it was simply waste of labor when turning up deeply one mow of sandy land would involve digging some 1,000 cubic feet of earth. He adopted a passive attitude toward such reclamation. An unreformed rich peasant took the opportunity to win him over to his side and corrupt him, stirring up the ill winds of capitalism. Wooed by the class enemy, this committee member, failing to distinguish between the right and wrong lines, followed suit and practiced capitalist methods. Rejecting criticism and help, he went so far as to blame the Party branch for not supporting him. Unity was thus affected and the fighting capacity of the Party branch was weakened. Grasping this case, we launched deep revolutionary mass criticism and exposed the class enemy's conspiracy. In the meantime, an active ideological struggle was also waged within the Party branch. This finally made the committee member in question

awaken to the truth. His honest and sincere self-criticism was so impressive as to deeply educate other branch committee members. Over the past few years, we have paid more attention to the ideological building of the leading group in order to promote revolutionary unity. We instituted a reading and study system. Inspite of the difficulties caused by a low level of education and lack of time to study, we persevered and never stopped reading and studying. Through adhering to the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor and promoting the fine style of arduous struggle and maintaining close ties with the masses, we seriously remolded our world outlook. In 1974, each branch committee member spent an average of 264 days in doing labor. We have also kept up the open-door rectification system to invite mass criticism and supervision. Leading members of the Party branch support each other with mutual understanding; while making no concession on matters of principle, they do not entangle themselves with minor issues. They frequently make criticism and self-criticism, striving to make their ideological and political line correct. In this way, they have strengthened their revolutionary unity and heightened their consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Speaking of unity in our village, the most essential thing of all is to strengthen the solidarity among the ranks of our poor and lower-middle peasants. They are the main force of the rural socialist revolution and construction, and it is only through the strengthening of this solidarity that the broad masses of revolutionary people can be united under the common cause of building a socialist new countryside. To this end, our Party branch first carried out a class education. In the past, signs of disunity existed among the poor and lower-middle peasants, and an important reason for this was that they were influenced by the feudal clanish concepts. Of the two thousand and more people in our brigade, over 80 percent share the surname of Ting, divided into many branches. Before liberation, the landlords and rich peasants exercised feudal clannish rights and, protected by the reactionary regime, cruelly oppressed and exploited the poor and lower-middle peasants. After liberation, though the landlords and rich peasants were overthrow, they were still around and tried to change the new regime. One of the tactics they used was to spread feudal clannish concepts to provoke and break up the unity of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Last summer, when the members of the No. 6 team elected a Party member to be the team leader, a counter-revolutionary tried to woo him by using his "family ties." "Though you may not admit it," he told the newly elected team leader, "you and I belong to different branches of the same family." "No matter how they are cooked and boiled, the legs of the pig still bend inward." This was a move calculated to disrupt the class alignment. But the team leader, sensing an acute class struggle, immediately organized the poor and lower-middle peasants to recall their past and compare it with the present and carried out a class education in light of realities. At a mass gathering, he took the lead in recalling his own past and exposed the crimes of the class enemy who tried to destroy their revolutionary unity. In the old society, his father had worked in the house of that counter-revolutionary for twelve long years with no pay at all. Once, when he was delivering a cartload of kaoliang stalks, the cart overturned and he broke his arm. The landlord not only refused to have him treated but threw him out. Many living facts such as this made

everyone at the meeting see clearly that in a class society people are divided into classes and the poor and lower-middle peasants really belong to the same family. They also saw that the class enemy was trying to use feudal family relationships as a means of covering up and obliterating class contradictions and class struggle in a bid to make us forget the past bitter class sufferings and to turn back to the capitalist road. We must not be fooled. Tightly grasping class struggle and the two-road struggle, this team crushed the class enemy's subversive activities and strengthened the unity of the poor and lower-middle peasants. With one big stroke, the cadres and masses quickly changed their team from a backward into an advanced one.

During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have organized the cadres and masses to seriously study a series of directives issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on the movement. With the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, we repudiated the absurd doctrines of Lin Piao and Confucius together with the class enemy's reactionary statements on "family relationship" in our brigade. We made constant efforts to sweep away the influences of feudal patriarchal ideology and the traditional concepts of the exploiting class, and strove to take over the entire ideological and cultural fields of our village with socialism. On the basis of a higher level of class and line consciousness, most poor and lower-middle peasants in our brigade know that it is for the interests of the revolution that they must actively maintain and protect the solidarity of our revolutionary ranks. In the past, many became enemies because of conflicts between their families; today, they have become class brothers helping and learning from one another. Before, cadres were selected on the basis of "family ties"; today, they are selected on the basis of their Party spirit and political conduct, and only those with a higher level of line struggle consciousness are elected to the leading posts. In the past, the class enemies used to carry out their subversive activities under cover of the clannish relations; today, such "clannish relationship" does not help, for once they start to make trouble, they are immediately exposed and criticized by the poor and lower-middle peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants speak of class relationship, not "clannish relationship." They consciously reject any wrong idea or act that runs counter to revolutionary unity. Everyone is striving conscientiously to promote revolutionary solidarity.

To realize solidarity among the class ranks of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, we must continue to step up socialist education and repudiate capitalist tendencies. The higher the level of their socialist consciousness, the easier it will be for them to unite in the common struggle to develop the collective economy and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The No. 9 team had the worst natural conditions, its 160 mow of land all being sandy. At first, some lacked the confidence in changing the natural outlook and tried to go elsewhere. Some picked up quarrels and asked for a "transfer to other teams." Later, the Party branch helped this team to conduct socialist education, organizing its members to study Chairman Mao's instructions on "self-reliance" and "arduous struggle" and that "only socialism can save China". They followed Tachai's example of firmly adhering to the Party's basic line and learned from its heroic deeds in building a new socialist countryside. Comparisons were

made between the old and new society and between the capitalist and socialist roads as another aspect of education. The poor and lower-middle peasants said: "One man alone can hardly achieve anything. When people are united as one, they can work wonders. To build socialism, we must unite as one and face the difficulties together." The cadres and masses of the team got together to find the means. They formed a backbone force of more than 40 poor and lower-middle peasants to lead men and women, young and old to reclaim land and build water works, braving the cold and the snowstorms. Over the past few years they have removed mounds of sand, levelled acres of land, built many dikes and sunk many wells. The average amount of earth dug up by each person per year exceeded a thousand cubic feet. With production conditions improved, grain yield has exceeded two thousand catties per-mow for the past two consecutive years.

In carrying out socialist education, we must also hold discussion in relation to the two-road struggle in our brigade in order to distinguish between socialism and capitalism. When a team needed money to buy a tractor, someone proposed to sell the grain of the team in the fair at a high price in the name of "promoting collective interests." A debate was held when it was made clear that it was wrong to say "as long as it is for the collective, anything we do is justified." Our plans and actions must conform to the interests and principles of socialism. To work only in the interests of a small collective, and even at the expensive of the state's interests, is actually to enlarge individualism, to seek the interests of a few, and to undermine socialism. Chairman Mao has taught us to bear in mind the interests of the state, the collective and the individual simultaneously. The interests of the state are put first because the interests of the state and of the socialist cause represent the basic interests of the broad masses of the laboring people. If we disregard the policies of the Party and state and work merely to increase income for a small collective, we would slide down the capitalist road and harm the basic interests of the poor and lower-middle peasants and the commune members as well. Understanding this, the cadres and masses are able to more correctly handle the relations between the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. They will work for things that conform to socialism, and will strongly reject anything that runs counter to it. Consciously, everyone gave priority to selling all kinds of farm and subsidiary produce to the state to aid socialist construction. In 1974, this team overfulfilled its task by selling an extra of over 50,000 catties of grain to the state.

To build a new socialist countryside, we must rely on the vast majority of cadres and people, and not on a few persons. We must not only organize and unite the class ranks of the poor and lower-middle peasants, but also strive to unite more than 95 percent of cadres and the masses, mobilize all active factors and try our best to transform passive factors into active ones. To this end, we must firmly implement the proletarian policies of the Party and differentiate and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions. In criticizing capitalist tendencies, we should make concrete analysis of concrete cases. We must strike hard at the small handful of class enemies who stir up capitalist evil winds. As for a small section of cadres and people who show capitalist tendencies, we must give them a chance to raise their consciousness and learn to distinguish between the two roads through struggle. This way, we will be able not only to isolate and hit the small handful of class enemies

but also to rally most of the cadres and masses.

Of course, when we speak of uniting most of the cadres and masses, we include those who have committed mistakes or even serious ones. We do not mean to say that we should cast aside principles so as to keep on good terms with everyone. On the contrary, we should firmly keep up ideological struggles and unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The most essential thing here is that our actions must be based on the desire to unite people, and that the purpose of ideological struggle is to achieve the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. One Party member of our branch previously had committed serious mistakes, and during the cultural revolution, he tried to create a split within the Party branch. Some comrades thought we ought to deal with him severely, and even demanded his expulsion from Party membership. The Party branch secretary, however, did not let himself be carried away by his feelings in spite of the fact that this Party member had opposed him before. Instead, with the interests of the public in mind, he stuck to the policies of the Party and warmly helped this comrade to find and correct his own mistakes. Having now studied Chairman Mao's teachings on "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," we proceeded to make a historical and all-round analysis of this comrade. After unifying our thoughts we made a correct decision on him. Subsequently, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, this comrade became a theoretical instructor playing a leading and exemplary role. Normally, when handling the contradictions within the ranks of the people, we adopt the democratic way of persuasion and education to solve the contradictions step by step and achieve better results. As for "children [born into families of the exploiting class] that can be educated well," we should see not only the fact that they have been under the influence of their families, but also the fact that they are willing to make progress under Party education. We should therefore encourage them to listen to the Party, take the revolutionary road and participate in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and other political activities.

When the line is correct and unity is achieved things can be changed. Over the years people's mentality has undergone great changes and farm production has developed rapidly under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Cadres and the masses keep the line, the general situation and unity in mind; they are fighting shoulder to shoulder. We are determined to persistently carry on the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a broad, deep and sustained manner under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. We will unite and continue to follow the socialist road to win still greater victories!

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The Socialist Road Gets Broader as We Keep on Travelling On It

by

Party Branch of Paotzuhung No. 15 Brigade, Yingchisha Hsien, Sinkiang

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1975)

Under the excellent situation at home and abroad and in the midst of the triumphant singing for the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the people of all nationalities across the country have ushered in the new year with revolutionary pride. Looking back to the past and looking forward to the future, the Party members, poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in our brigade, with double confidence and a highly militant spirit, are determined to stick to the Party's basic line, carry on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and speed up the building of a socialist new countryside.

In Uighur "Paotzuhung" means a piece of wasteland. In the old society, Paotzuhung was no more than a hell for the poor and lower-middle peasants. "In winter the land is covered with snow; in spring seedlings turn yellow; in summer wind and sand blew; in autumn grain harvested can only fill half of a sack." This was an exact description of Paotzuhung of the old days. In the ten years prior to the liberation, up to a hundred persons died of hunger and cold, and dozens of households sold their children and fled to seek a new life elsewhere. "When the cock crows, the day breaks and music arises everywhere." When liberation came, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's nationality policy shone over the Pamir plateau, leading us to the bright road of socialism. In particular, thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, through which the interference and sabotage of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were eliminated, the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in general have raised their awareness of the struggle between the two lines. In Paotzuhung itself, people have changed their thinking and the land has changed its complexion. The output of both grain and cotton has surpassed the "Program" targets to equal that south of the Yellow River every year since 1970. In 1974 the output of grain rose by 70 percent and that of cotton and oil-bearing crops was double compared with 1965, a year before the great cultural revolution. In the same period, the livestock increased from 2,900 head to 7,000 head while the number of trees rose from 200,000 to 620,000. And following the rapid development of the collective economy, communal accumulation has kept on increasing. The brigade itself has bought big farm machines and implements including tractors, sowing machines, threshing machines, and machines to open up field ridges, thereby basically achieving mechanized farming and sowing. Last year a power station was established to provide lighting for the frontier village. Indeed, what was previously a piece of wasteland has now become a scene of bustling activities and growing prosperity. "Channels criss cross each other and the roads are straight. There are level fields formed in strips. Trees planted have grown into a forest. Stock-breeding is flourishing, and more grain and cotton are reaped. Machines

bus and electric bulbs are shining." This is the reality of Paotzuhung today. In the past decade our brigade has sold to the state some 6 million catties of surplus grain, 11,000 tan of cotton, 100,000 catties of oil-bearing crops, 2,000 head of livestock, 5.5 million cubic feet of timber and 400,000 catties of fruit. On the basis of increased production, the living standard of the commune members has been improved with every passing day, and most of them now have deposits in the bank. In addition to the 400,000 catties of grain in collective reserve, some 200,000 catties of grain are in private reserve with every household owning some surplus grain. More than 900 households of commune members in the brigade have moved into newly-built housing estates. The brigade has introduced cooperative medical service with a clinic and barefoot doctors. All school-aged children are now in school. Nine young people have gone to universities in Peking, Siam and other places. Paotzuhung is completely different from what it was in the past--a fact which so pleases the masses from all nationalities that they have demonstrated greater love for Chairman Mao, great leader of the people of all nationalities, for the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party, and for the great socialist motherland.

As we look back to what we have done and sum up our past experience, we recognize still more clearly that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line indeed decides everything. In building a new socialist countryside, there is nothing more fundamental than to take the Party's basic line as the key link, grasp class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, smash the class enemy's sabotage activities, repudiate capitalist trends, and keep to the socialist orientation and road. The various major struggles between the two lines conducted within the Party since the liberation were also reflected in Paotzuhung. While such chieftains of the revisionist line as Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao yelled from above, the class enemies in our village jumped out to stir up trouble. These struggles evolved around the question of whether to advocate progress or regression, to restore the old order or to thwart any such an attempt, and to take the socialist or the capitalist road. In 1954, the Party organization led 16 households of poor and lower-middle peasants and two households of middle peasants to set up in Paotzuhung the first agricultural producers cooperative in response to Chairman Mao's call. It was right at this time that Liu Shao-ch'i frenziedly called the agricultural cooperation movement a "risky move" and ordered a "resolute contraction" in an attempt to chop down this socialist new thing and allow capitalism to breed and grow in the countryside. Meanwhile, the class enemies in our village also churned up wind and waves, instigating middle peasants to withdraw from the cooperative and going so far as to burn the stable and seize the draft cattle that belonged to the collective in a wild attempt to stop the march of socialism and roll back the wheel of history. In 1958, the moment the people's commune, a new thing, appeared on the horizon, Chairman Mao praised it, saying "the people's commune is good." We poor and lower-middle peasants established a people's commune in resolute response to Chairman Mao's great call. However, P'eng Te-huai dashed out to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, saying absurdly that the people's commune was "premature" and "messy." In close coordination with him, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and others called for the adoption of San-tzu I-pao and "setting production quotas based on the household," vainly trying to topple the people's commune and roll the wheel of history backward. At a time like this the class enemies in our brigade again took the

opportunity to incite people to return to individual farming, to abandon farming in favor of trading, hoping thus to wreck the collective economy of the people's commune and restore capitalism. In 1964, Chairman Mao issued the great call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai" to the people of the whole country. We the poor and lower-middle peasants with the Red sun in our hearts and learning from Tachai in high spirits, undertook farm capital projects on a large scale in an effort to reshape nature. However, the class enemies slandered the movement to learn from Tachai as "cadres catching the limelight and the masses suffering alive," using religion to deceive the masses and vainly trying to sabotage our effort to build a socialist new countryside. Faced with this grave class struggle, we kept firmly in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching "Never forget classes and class struggle" and led the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members to stick to the Party's basic line and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the class enemy, the revisionist line and the capitalist trends, thereby consolidating the socialist position in the countryside. It was only then that farm production began to develop, the collective economy began to grow, and the living standard of the people began to improve year after year.

The fact that great victories were won in the great cultural revolution does not mean that class struggle has come to an end. In our brigade, a small handful of class enemies, irreconciled to their defeat, are still bidding their time to carry out sabotage. Capitalist trends also constantly erode the minds of the people, and some people still do all sorts of things to harm the collective economy. Under the excellent situation, some of our cadres have relaxed class struggle, refrained from doing things according to the Party's basic line, and even supported certain capitalist trends. In view of these manifestations of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the rural areas, we mobilized the masses in the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius to compare the new society with the old and to compare life before and after the great cultural revolution and the two different kinds of results from taking two different kinds of roads. In the light of reality, we criticized Lin Piao for emulating Confucius' reactionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and peddling the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The cadres and the masses have further heightened their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and the situation in revolution and production has been getting better and better as a result. In 1974, our brigade was hit by three serious natural disasters. In the early spring the temperature was low and there was much snow; this was unfavorable to winter wheat management and delayed spring sowing. In the spring and early summer a dry spell caused a shortage of water. In July and August mountain torrents destroyed more than 500 mow of paddy rice and millet. Relying on the collective strength and giving full scope to the socialist enthusiasm of the masses generated from the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we waged a struggle against the natural disasters. As a result, 1974 was still a bumper year. The average per-mow output of grain was equivalent to that south of the Yellow River, and the average per-mow output of cotton reached 105 catties, showing an increase over 1973. Facts have repeatedly taught us that the socialist cause in the countryside is developing forward in the midst of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Such a struggle will still exist for a long time to come.

Therefore, the Party's basic line must be "talked about every year, every month and every day," and it must not be forgotten at any time. Class struggle must be grasped every year, every month and every day and must not be relaxed even for a single moment. Only thus will it be possible to insure incessant development of socialist agriculture.

In the course of building a socialist new countryside, it is imperative for us to grasp well the class struggle in the ideological sphere. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and other reactionary exploiting-class ideas, religious superstitions and old concepts still exert a rather big influence in our Uighur nationality. A small handful of class enemies are doing their utmost to spread feudal, capitalist and revisionist poisons in a bid to seize the ideological and cultural position and the younger generation in the rural areas from the proletariat. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, using the Party's basic line as the guide, we grasped the revolution in the ideological sphere and strove to take over the rural ideological and cultural position by socialism. Now, our brigade has 22 theoretical study groups and more than 240 backbone theorists. 17 production teams have study counsellors. This force of theorists is joining the masses in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and is playing a leading and backbone role in study and criticism. In addition, we have set up a spare-time literary and art propaganda team, learning to sing songs in the revolutionary model plays and other revolutionary songs and to perform revolutionary dances. We have compiled and staged programs reflecting the great cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, programs that have proved very popular among the masses. The brigade's class education exhibition hall has become an important place for educating cadres and commune members in the Party's basic line. We organized the educated youth to write and deliver reports on the history of class struggle in the brigade and the histories of their families, and invited old poor peasants to talk on their past and present life. The number of spectators and listeners on these occasions over the past years has exceeded 9 million. Besides, we have set up an evening political school, a cultural room, and a broadcasting station. We have turned out mimeographed sheets and put out columns and cartoon series on mass criticism. In these ways, we propagated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, criticized Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and promoted the socialist new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits. Thanks to the revolution in the ideological sphere, the commune members have greatly liberated their minds and raised their awareness, thinking of world affairs and doing revolutionary work. Both brigade and team cadres persevere in participating in collective productive labor, putting in an average of over 300 days of labor a year. This has rendered the cadre-mass relations still closer. The educated youths have hardened their determination to take root in the countryside. Former customs of marriage have been changed, and the superstitious practices of burials have been abandoned. It has gradually become a new custom for man and woman to share the household chores.

In building a socialist new countryside, it is necessary to set up a lofty goal, think of the long-range needs, do the things that must be done

at present, continue to fight conservative ideas, oppose the world outlook of the cowardly and lazy people, and guide the masses to march on nature and strive to change the production conditions radically. Judging by the case of our brigade, farm production is principally influenced by the following problems: Drought in the spring and flooding in the autumn, the alkalization of the soil, and the uneven level of the farmland. In 1964, in response to Chairman Mao's great call "Learn from Tachai in agriculture," we resolved to thoroughly change the backward features of Paotzuhsang in the revolutionary spirit of Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants. That year, we called on the masses to work out a ten-year long-range plan and began comprehensive treatment of water, soil and forestry. Over the past ten years, depending on the masses' zeal and creativeness and sticking to the policy of self-reliance, we have removed more than 160 mounds, filled 38 big gullies, reclaimed 3,200 mow of wasteland and put them to the plow, and turned more than 10,000 mow of small plots of uneven level into 44 blocks of big fields suitable for mechanized farming. We built a 34-kilometer long trunk canal with stones and provided the fields with needed ditches. We managed to build 25 forest belts with a total length of 32 kilometers. We have grown more than 2,300 mow of clover; each year the system of growing grass and crops on rotation is practiced on more than 500 mow. The change in the production conditions has effectively brought wind- and sand-storms and soil salinity under control, prevented drought and waterlogging, and raised the fertility of the soil, with the result that grain and cotton output has increased by a big margin and overall development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery has been brought about. It is our deep conviction that with revolutionary ideals and ambitious goals and with overall planning, we can mobilize the masses to gradually transform the production conditions entirely in a manner suited to local conditions and to build up socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

We are fighting in the western gate of the mother country, shouldering the glorious task of safeguarding the frontier of the mother country. But although our brigade has achieved much in revolution and construction under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it is still far from being able to fully satisfy the requirements of the developing situation. This year is the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. In the new year we are determined to rally more closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, carry on the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner, further develop the mass movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture," and march bravely ahead along the socialist path.

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The Wonderful Application of "Telepathy"

by

Chao Ch'ien (赵 前)

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In recent years, many Soviet scientific research institutes, applying the so-called newest technique, have been engaged in a "scientific" activity which, in their views, would bring "science to the verge of a breakthrough." What is, after all, this great undertaking! Amazingly, it is "telepathy." Scholars in the pay of the Soviet revisionists declared with affected seriousness: Two persons some hundred thousand miles apart can "communicate" with each other without the use of tele-communication equipment, each knowing what the other is doing; a doctor may diagnose and treat a patient without making contact with him or the use of any medical apparatus; a teacher "may influence his students through the wordless telepathy"; and a spy may photograph the military installations of other countries through "visualization" without going there. What an extremely wonderful role "telepathy" can play!

Is "telepathy" a new discovery? No. This is merely a charlatan trick that has existed since ancient times. Two thousand years ago in China, for instance, the disciples of Confucius had concocted the story of "thought transmission" between Tseng Ts'an and his mother. One day, as the story goes, when his mother twisted her arm at home, Tseng Ts'an, who was working in the fields, also felt pain in his arm and knew that his mother wanted him to come home. Wang Ch'ung, the materialist of the Han dynasty, asked: "If his mother fell ill, did Tseng Ts'an have to get sick, too? If she died, did he have to die, too?" Hitting the nail on the head, this exposed the so-called "thought transmission" story deliberately spread by the Confucian disciples as nothing but a fraud.

In the West, such deceitful "telepathy" has been linked with religion, and has produced widespread pernicious influence. As early as a century ago, "telepathic" activities had already spread like a plague in many capitalist countries, where seminars and report meetings were held to extensively deal with "direct transmission of thought." Even some renowned scientists such as the English physicist Crookes and biologist Wallace were involved in this awful mess. Such animism aimed at "proving the existence of God and the immortality of the soul" was dealt head-on blows by Marx and Engels, who in the struggle against animism further elucidated the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. In analyzing the tragedy of Wallace and Crookes, Engels pointed out: "Dialectics cannot be despised without impunity." "The empirical contempt for dialectics is punished by some of the most sober empiricists being led into the most barren of all superstitions, into modern spiritualism."

Thinking is the reflection of being. Man's perception of the objective world has to go through the sensory organ to reach the cerebrum. Both the sensory organ and the cerebrum are indispensable to knowing the world. The two restrain as well as promote each other. The cerebrum is like a processing plant and the sensory organ a "purchasing

agent" procuring raw material for this processing plant, the cerebrum. Without the sensory organ "purchasing" raw material from the objective external world, this processing plant, the cerebrum, will not be able to process any product, and no thought can be formed. Man's perception of objective things is without exception produced by having the phenomena of the objective external world reflected in the brain through his sensory organ. It is only by having the five sense organs--eyes, ears, nose, tongue and body--that man can perceive in practice such characteristics as colors, sounds, smells, tastes and forms of objective things. If two persons are separated by a wall, not to mention by thousands of mountains and rivers, they cannot communicate with each other without the use of words. Lenin said: "Matter acts on our sensory organ to produce sensation." "Without sensation it is impossible for us to know the form of an object or the form of motion." This is an indestructible truth that has been proved by the history of man for milleniums.

However, this truth expounded by Lenin has been totally rejected by those treacherous sons and grandsons. A telepathy enthusiast in West Germany wrote: "Before 1956 the Soviet Union still declared telepathy an anti-socialist fiction." What happened later? This enthusiast continued: "In the early 1960's, from Moscow came a piece of astonishing news, bringing unexpectedly new encouragement to people who believe in telepathy." This comment is in accord with facts. Since Khruschev and Brezhnev climbed on the scene, "telepathy" has enjoyed official support in the Soviet Union and has been very much in vogue. "Telepathic" laboratories were set up in universities and scientific research institutes; certain periodicals and scientific journals carried articles championing "telepathy." "Telepathic" experiments attracted the participation of many in scientific, literary, political and other circles, like flies chasing after dirt. The unchecked spread of "telepathy" in the Soviet Union has been closely associated with the restoration activities of the Khruschev and Brezhnev renegade clique. Certain Soviet revisionists declared: The ability to transmit thought is "a phenomenon of returning to the ancestor shown in certain persons." Wonderful! But this is no physiological returning to the ancestor, but "returning to the ancestor" and restoration in Soviet society. Since the Soviet Party and State have changed their colors, "telepathy" has also resurrected on Soviet soil, a phenomenon that is inevitable following all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Some so-called "telepathy" experts in the pay of the Soviet revisionists have said naively: "By using such telepathy that is self-evident without the use of words to teach their students, teachers need not be present in the classroom and this will not arouse the resistance of the students." The cat is let out of the bag. The truth is that they advocate "telepathy" because they are afraid of the resistance of the masses of the people. The practice of fascist rule by the Brezhnev renegade at home has brought untold hardship to the people and voices of discontent are heard everywhere. By carrying out aggression and expansion abroad, it has discredited itself and found itself surrounded by enemies. The Soviet authorities are sitting atop a volcano, with angry flames of resistance of the masses of people about to erupt. Faced with this internal and external plight, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, while continuing to execute "the function of the hangman" toward the masses of people, has

further resorted to fulfilling "the function of the priest," attempting to benumb the people with religion of various discriptions. As a result, "telepathy" has become fashionable. Perhaps due to religion being too shopworn, the Soviet revisionist scholars think that, by moving the soul from the church to the scientific laboratory and by putting some lipstick of science on the face of God, they would not be doubted for promoting religion. But however hard the Soviet official circles have tried to mystify "telepathy," the hearts of the vast masses of the Soviet people who are being oppressed still can in no way be linked with those of a small handful of rulers who are oppressing them. The Soviet people have risen up one after another to denounce the fraud of "telepathy." And the scholars in the pay of the Soviet revisionists, no longer able to keep their patience, have yelled hysterically: "In the study of the mind as in that of religion, faith is more important than facts." This lays bare the religious essence hidden behind "telepathy." "Telepathy" is but religion without the cross. It is the same kind of stuff as the so-called "communist Christianity" vigorously advertised in the Soviet Union several years ago, both being spiritual opium used by the Soviet revisionists to benumb the people.

Even on this trickery of "telepathy," the two superpowers are also contending with each other. The United States say that such propaganda has "the characteristics of advertisement." What about the Soviet Union? When it learned that the United States was saying its telepathists could take pictures of Soviet rocket installations merely by "visualization," it flew into a rage, deeply concerned that it might lose face. Nothing can change the present condition in which the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are colluding as well as contending with each other, with the main emphasis on contention. Though both sides have always wanted to "transmit thoughts" to each other and both have claimed "inventions" in "telepathy," they have not been able to communicate with each other by thought. This is because their relations are essentially relations of mutual deception and blackmail between two hegemonic powers. As they are singing louder and louder the high-sounding tune of "detente," they are continuing to perpetrate evil deeds to destroy each other and seize world hegemony. The Soviet and American leaders have met again and again and signed many agreements and documents in recent years. These agreements and documents, described by the Soviet revisionists as "milestones" of "detente," are actually no better than a bunch of waste paper. The more agreements they sign to limit nuclear weapons, the greater the intensity of their nuclear race. "Milestones" of the so-called "detente" have turned out to be "milestones" of stepped-up contentions between two hegemonic powers. Amid the hullabalu of "permanent peace" and "a generation of peace," the facts people see are: One superpower is trying by all possible means to carry out infiltration and expansion abroad, to force its way into and take over the spheres of influence of the other superpower in Europe, the Middle East and other regions of the world in order to realize its wild ambition of world domination. People have seen through the thoughts of both sides without the use of "telepathy." The facts are as clear as daylight. The thoughts of the Soviet revisionist new Tsars can be judged by the dirty deeds they are doing. What remains is a pack of lies. The torrential waves of resistance of the people of the whole world against the hegemonism of the superpowers will certainly sweep clean all the lies (including "telepathy") of the Soviet revisionists.

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